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*The Cabinet History of England, Civil,
Military and Ecclesiastical*

Charles MacFarlane



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**THE CABINET
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
CIVIL, MILITARY,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL;**

FROM THE INVASION BY JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE YEAR 1846

By CHARLES MACFARLANE.

VOL. SIXTH.

XI.—XII.



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CONTENTS.

BOOK VII.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1629—1641.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

	Page
Charles I.—<i>Continued</i>	5

CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VII.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1606—1660.

CHARLES I.—*Continued.*

As neither advice nor threats could prevail on the Speaker, and as they well knew they would not again be allowed the opportunity of expressing their sentiments in parliament, the Commons hastily drew up a protest under the following heads:—"1. Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true or orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 3. If any merchant or other person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same." As Mr. Hollis read these articles he was loudly cheered by the House. While they were reading, the king, who had hurried down to the House of Lords, and who was perplexed at not seeing the Speaker, sent a messenger to bring away the serjeant

with his *mace*,—a symbol almost as important as the Speaker, and without which there could be no House. But the members stopped the serjeant, and, taking the key of the door from him, gave it to a member of the House to keep safe and sure. Not seeing serjeant or mace, the king despatched the usher of the black rod to call up the Commons, that he might dissolve the parliament; but the Commons refused to receive either the black rod or his black message. When Charles heard this he grew furious, and, sending for the captain of the pensioners and his guards, he ordered them *to force the door*; but the Commons, in the mean while, having voted their protest, and adjourned themselves to the 10th of March, had risen and were gone.

Upon the 10th of March the king went down to the Lords with the proclamation for the dissolution of parliament, which had been signed on the 3rd. Several members of the Lower House were in the Lords when the king arrived, but the Commons had not been summoned as was usual, and their Speaker was not present as he ought to have been. "My lords," said Charles, "I never came here upon so unpleasing an occasion: therefore many may wonder why I did not rather choose to do this by commission; it being a general maxim of kings to lay harsh commands by their ministers—themselves only executing pleasing things. But, considering that justice is as well answered in commending and rewarding of virtue, as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here this day, to declare to you, my lords, and all the world, that it was only the disobedient carriage of the Lower House that hath caused this dissolution at this time; and that you, my lords, are so far from being causers of it, that I have so much comfort in your lordships' carriage towards me, as I have cause to distaste their proceedings. Yet, that I may be clearly understood, I must needs say, that they do mistake me wonderfully that think I lay the fault equally upon all the Lower House; for, as I know there are many as dutiful and loyal subjects as any are in the world, so I know that it was only some *vipers* amongst them that had

cast this mist of difference before their eyes ; although there were some amongst them that would not be infected with this contagion—insomuch that some of their speaking (which indeed was the general fault of the House on the last day) did show their obedience. To conclude, my lords, as those evil-affected persons must look for their rewards, so you that are here of the Higher House, may justly claim from me that protection and favour that a good king oweth to his loyal and faithful nobility. And now, my lord keeper, do what I have commanded you.” Then the lord keeper said, “My lords, and gentlemen of the House of Commons, the king’s majesty doth dissolve this parliament.” And thus, flattering the Lords, and threatening the Commons, Charles ended his third parliament, on the 10th of March, 1629.*

But before the closing scene the king had laid his hands upon some of those whom he called the “*vipers*.” Eliot, Hollis, Selden, Valentine, Coriton, Hobart, Hayman, Long, and Stroud, the members who had been the most active in getting up the protest, and keeping the Speaker in his chair, were summoned by warrant (dated the 5th of March) before the privy council. With the exception of Long and Stroud they all presented themselves, but refused to answer out of the House for the things they had said in it ; and they were thereupon committed to the Tower. Long and Stroud surrendered upon the issuing of a proclamation for their arrest, and they were sent to join their friends. The houses of Eliot, Hollis, Selden, Long, and Valentine were forcibly entered, their studies broken open, and their papers seized by the king’s warrant.

Charles issued a long declaration to all his loving subjects, explaining the causes which moved him to dissolve the last parliament ; but every step he now took only added to the exasperation of the people. Being fully resolved to proceed in the Star Chamber against the members of parliament whom he had committed to the

* Rushworth.—Whitelock.—Parl. Hist.

Tower, he propounded a series of questions to the judges, who again were found somewhat less complying than was expected. Judge Whitelock afterwards (and we believe timidly and privately) complained against this way of sending to the judges for their opinions beforehand, and said, that if Bishop Laud went on in this way, he would kindle a flame in the nation. At the same moment of excitement the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber passed several harsh sentences; and on the 22nd of March the king issued a proclamation, which was interpreted by many as meaning a determination on his part to discontinue parliaments altogether, unless he could reduce the House of Commons to be the instrument of his will. "We have showed," said Charles, "by our frequent meeting our people, our love to the use of parliaments; yet, the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for parliaments, the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which is always in our power; and shall be more inclinable to meet in parliament again, when our people shall see more clearly into our interests and actions, and when such as have bred this interruption shall have received their condign punishment." He afterwards graciously told the nation that he would not overload his subjects with any more burdens, but satisfy himself with those duties that were received by his father, which he neither could nor would dispense with, but should esteem them unworthy of his protection who should deny them.*

The apprehensive, or that numerous class which, for the sake of excitement, exaggerate calamities, spoke in corners of Tower Hill and the block, or Tyburn and the gallows; but the arbitrary faction could not venture upon such extreme measures, and the imprisoned members, in the end, met with nothing but illegal fines in addition to their harsh imprisonment. When they sued for their *habeas corpus*, and were brought up before the Court of

* Rymer.

King's Bench, the court lawyers made a return that they were detained for notable contempts, and for stirring up sedition, as alleged in a warrant under the king's sign manual. Their counsel argued against the legality of the proceeding, and made a stand on the king's explicit confirmation of principles and precedents in the Petition of Right. The king's counsel slurred over that great constitutional enactment, and the attorney-general, Heath—"a fit instrument for those times"—quibbled and evaded, and set up the old tyrannical doctrine of imprisonment at the king's will. In this manner—this wretched, irritating manner—did Charles and his tools endeavour to explain away every confirmation of constitutional rights, —every concession made to the people, till the people would no longer give the slightest credit to his most solemn promises. The Attorney-General Heath recited old authorities to prove that prisoners committed by the sovereign or the privy council were not bailable. The judges, however, wrote "a humble and stout letter" to the king; "that by their oaths they were to bail the prisoners; but thought fit, before they did it, or publish their opinions therein, to inform his majesty thereof, and humbly to advise him (as had been done by his noble progenitors in like case) to send a direction to his justices of his bench to bail the prisoners."* The Lord Keeper Coventry would not tell the judges whether he had shown this, their letter, to the king or not; but dissembled the matter, and told them that they must attend his majesty at Greenwich. There the king received them in a manner which showed he was displeased with them, and he commanded them not to deliver any opinion in this case without consulting with the rest of the judges. These judges, obviously by royal command, delayed the business, and so it was put off to the end of the term. When the Court of King's Bench was ready to deliver its opinion, the prisoners, by the king's command, were removed from other places of confinement to the Tower; so that, the writs of *habeas corpus* having been addressed

* Whitelock.

to their former keepers, who of course could not produce them, the prisoners were not forthcoming to claim the right of bail. They were thus detained in close custody during the whole of the long vacation which ensued.*

Towards the end of the vacation the judges were commanded to attend at Serjeant's Inn, as his majesty had urgent need of their services. Upon Michaelmas-day—the day appointed—the judges attended; and then the Chief Justice Hyde and Judge Whitelock were sent by the lord keeper to advise with the king at Hampton Court. There the privy council was sitting; but Charles took the two judges aside, and told them he was willing the imprisoned members should be admitted to bail, notwithstanding their contumacy in refusing to declare that they were sorry for having offended him; and he also told them that he should abandon the Star Chamber proceedings, and prosecute them in the King's Bench. The answer of the judges, who felt what was right, but who were not bold enough to oppose the king, did not give entire satisfaction—for Charles spoke disrespectfully of their “oracles and riddles.”†

Upon the first day of Michaelmas Term, the prisoners, who had been already thirty weeks in close confinement, without resort of friends or family, debarred from the use of books, and pen and ink, were brought into court, and ordered not only to find bail for their present charge, but sureties for their good behaviour in future. They refused to give these sureties, but were ready with bail for their appearance to answer the present charge. The judges intimated that they would accept the same persons both for sureties and bail; but the captives were determined not to tie their own tongues and fetter their own hands by making their friends answerable upon so ticklish a

* Whitelock.—State Trials.—At the same time this paltry trick was played off upon other less conspicuous victims. “Some constables and other mean men, committed by the council, and bringing their *habeas corpora*, were removed from pursuivant to pursuivant, and could have no benefit of the law.”—*Whitelock*.

† Whitelock.

point as good behaviour, which was to be judged of by the king and his ministers. They all firmly refused to give the sureties in any shape, and thereupon they were all sent back to the Tower.

The attorney-general then exhibited an information in the King's Bench against Sir John Eliot, Mr. Denzil Hollis, and Mr. Valentine. Sir John was charged with words uttered in the Commons' House, and particularly with saying that the privy council and judges had conspired to trample under foot the liberties of the subject,—that no man was ever blasted in the House of Commons but a curse fell upon him, &c. Hollis and Valentine were charged with the tumult on the last day of the session, when the Speaker was forcibly held down in the chair. The defendants put in a plea excepting to the jurisdiction of the court:—"Forasmuch," as it was alleged, "as these offences are supposed to have been done in parliament, they ought not to be punished in this court, or any other except in parliament." The judges, upon demurrer, over-ruled this plea, and the prisoners refused to put in any other. Upon the last day of the next term judgment was given against them upon a *nihil dicit* by Mr. Justice Jones. But, heavy as was their offence, Jones assured the prisoners that their punishment should be laid on "with a light hand;" and then he delivered sentence,—“1. That every of the defendants shall be imprisoned during the king's pleasure: Sir John Eliot to be imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the other defendants in other prisons. 2. That none of them shall be delivered out of prison until he give security in this court for his good behaviour, and have made submission and acknowledgment of his offence. 3. Sir John Eliot, inasmuch as we think him the greatest offender and the ringleader, shall pay to the king a fine of 2000*l.*, and Mr. Hollis a fine of 1000 marks; and Mr. Valentine, because he is of less ability than the rest, shall pay a fine of 500*l.*” And to all this all the other justices, with one voice, assented.* Long, who had been pricked sheriff

* Parl. Hist.—Rushworth.—State Trials.

of Wiltshire, was not brought into the King's Bench for his conduct in the House, but into the Star Chamber, for attending in parliament when he was bound, as sheriff, to be present in his own county. This was a revival of an old manœuvre, and people understood perfectly well that Long's severe sentence, condemning him to a fine of 2000 marks, imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and a public submission, was solely on account of his behaviour in the House of Commons.

Previously to the passing of these tyrannical sentences against members of parliament, a merchant had felt the ruthless severity of the court. Richard Chambers was summoned before the privy council for refusing to pay any further duty for a bale of silks than might be demanded by law. The bale of goods had been seized by the officers; but this was not deemed punishment enough, and Charles wanted an opportunity to re-state his principle, in scorn of the Petition of Right, that he could lay on duties by prerogative. Smarting under his wrongs, and foreseeing the deplorable consequences that must ensue if this arbitrary principle were established, Chambers told the privy council "that merchants had more encouragement, and were less screwed and wrung, in Turkey than in England." For these words an information was preferred against him in the Star Chamber; and that detestable court, declaring itself of opinion that the words were intended to make the people believe that the *happy government* under which they lived was worse than a Turkish tyranny, forthwith sentenced Chambers to pay a fine of 2000*l.*, and to sign a written acknowledgment that he had spoken the words insolently, contemptuously, seditiously, falsely, and maliciously. The honest merchant signed the paper; but it was to this effect:—"All the above contents and submission, I, Richard Chambers, do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false, and never till death will acknowledge any part thereof." And being a devout man, a Puritan or Precisian, he subjoined several texts of Scripture, one of which was,— "Woe unto them that devise iniquity, because it is in the power of their hand." His fine was

immediately estreated into the Exchequer, where he pleaded Magna Charta and other statutes against the fine by the king and his council, it not being by legal judgment of his peers; but the barons would not suffer his plea to be filed. Afterwards Chambers brought his Habeas Corpus, but the judges remanded him; and after twelve years' imprisonment, and a long waiting for satisfaction for his losses from the Long Parliament, this champion and martyr of law and right died at last in want.*

Everything now went to spread the conviction that Charles intended to throw off for ever the restraint of parliament, and to rule undisguisedly as an absolute king. The orthodox pulpits were made to shake with loud expoundings of the divine right; and about this time a pamphlet was put forth advising the king to have no more parliaments, recommending to him the example of Louis XI. of France, who had put down parliaments in that kingdom, and submitting a regular scheme of despotism to be upheld by a military police.† But still there were circumstances which might seem to indicate that Charles thought rather of managing the House of Commons, by winning over some of its most influential members, than of taking the more desperate step alluded to. Perhaps, however, he considered the services of such eminent men as Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Dudley Digges, Noye, and Littleton, to be worth the pur-

* Whitelock.—Rushworth.

† It was proved, however, that this precious production was not written for Charles, but for his father James, many years before; and that it was now made public and "bruted" by the patriotic party in order to put their fellow-subjects on their guard against the encroachments of despotism. But the pamphlet scarcely contained a principle that was not cherished, and even acted upon more or less openly, either now or soon afterwards, by Charles, and Laud, and Wentworth. At court the queen was constantly talking of the difference between a *quasi* king, like the kings of England, and a *real*, mighty king, like the absolute sovereigns of her own country and family.

chasing, parliament or no parliament; for the country contained none more able, and their promptness in apostatizing gave him a reasonable ground for believing that they would not be deterred by a sense of shame, or by scruples of conscience, from going any lengths in the service of their new master. Wentworth, the most renowned of the company, had gone over to the court some time before this. After being one of the sturdiest of the reformers and boldest declaimers in the House of Commons,—after suffering imprisonment for refusing to contribute to the forced loan,—this eminent person, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who boasted his descent, by bastardy, from the royal line of the Plantagenets, out of a very ignoble rivalry, and an ambition for rank and titles (even his friends could find out no purer motives), made his peace with Buckingham a short time before that favourite's death, and sold himself, body and soul, to the court. He had his reward; and the splendour of it, no doubt, served as a decoy to other patriots of his stamp. He was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Wentworth; he was caressed by the king: he was taken to the bosom of Laud; and by the end of the year 1628 he was made a viscount and lord president of what was called the Court of York, or the Council of the North. From the first moment he obtained power he used it against his former political associates without mercy or remorse; and it may be that, from that very moment, the party set down the renegade for a sacrifice whenever the wheel of fortune should turn in their favour. The indisputable and commanding abilities of the man also made them hate him the more because they feared him. Sir Dudley Digges, though a spirited debater and a man of talent, had been known for some time to be without principle; and, upon being offered the post of Master of the Rolls, he closed at once with the bargain, and turned round upon "the vipers," as the king called his former friends, the leaders of the opposition. Noye and Littleton, both distinguished lawyers, followed the same course: Noye was made attorney-general, Littleton solicitor-general. Being thus placed in a position to ex-

plain and stretch the prerogative, they did that work apparently without a blush at the recollections which were but as of yesterday, when they combated for the rights of parliament and the liberties of the people. There was no new king's favourite in lieu of Buckingham, for the Earl of Holland was rather the favourite of the queen (scandal said her paramour) than of Charles. Holland, however, like the extravagant Hay, earl of Carlisle, had a seat at the council-table, where also sat the pompous Arundel, earl marshal; the contemptible, horse-whipped Earl of Montgomery; his brother, the Earl of Pembroke; and the Earl of Dorset; who, one and all, thought more of pleasure than of business, and were content that the king should ruin himself or the nation, provided they could have their enjoyments. Charles's two secretaries of state at this time were Sir John Coke and Sir Dudley Carleton; his chancellor, or rather lord-keeper, was Lord Coventry; his lord privy seal the Earl of Manchester; and his lord-treasurer the Lord Weston, whom Eliot had denounced in the last session as the great enemy of the commonwealth. But all these counsellors together had not the power over the king of Wentworth and Laud. The rise of the churchman had been forwarded rather than checked by the assassination of his great patron Buckingham. Charles knew that he had long been in the habit of writing for the duke, and guiding him in matters of business: he called Laud into the privy council, and promised to raise him to the primacy as soon as it should please heaven to remove old Archbishop Abbot. It should seem that, on a closer acquaintance, the sympathies of the king and bishop chimed together wondrously well; and that, while Laud adored the divine right of kings, Charles embraced with the zeal of a crusader the right of the bishops to coerce the faith of his people.

All this time England was at war with France, Spain, and, in effect, with the Emperor of Germany; but so insignificant were the events that rose out of this state of hostility, compared with the events at home, that the minutest historians scarcely devote a page to them. In-

deed, without any comparison with the important transactions at home, the warlike operations in which the English were actively concerned were paltry and honourless in themselves, being, in fact, little more than an exhibition of Charles's weakness. With France he had gone to war without reason, and he was glad to make a peace without honour, abandoning the French Protestants to their fate, and scarcely mentioning the cause of his sister and brother-in-law the Palatine. This peace with France was made public in the spring of 1629, and in the following year Charles, notwithstanding the prayers and tears of his wife, who would have prolonged the war, *because* France was still at war with Spain and the whole House of Austria, he concluded a peace with Philip, the pacification of King James being assumed as the groundwork of the treaty.

But the other belligerents on the continent were carrying on the 'Thirty Years' War, which arose out of the Bohemian insurrection, with a very different spirit. The Lion of the North had started from his lair,—Gustavus Adolphus had crossed the Baltic on the 24th of June, 1630, and rushed into Germany for the support of Protestantism and the humbling of the Emperor Ferdinand. A series of most brilliant victories was obtained by the daring Swede, who was in close league not only with the Protestants of the empire, but with the French, who, guided by the bold policy of Cardinal Richelieu, now omnipotent in France, stretched their arms in all directions, across the Alps, the Pyrenees, to the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands, to the Rhine and the Elbe. Savoy was not only overrun, but almost entirely conquered; and in Italy the cardinal dictated terms to the pope, who, as much out of necessity as out of inclination, had adhered to the House of Austria and to the emperor, who was considered as waging a religious war against heretics. When Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany, the power of the emperor was almost everywhere predominant. His generals, the ferocious Tilly, the bloody Pappenheim, the ambitious Maximilian of Bavaria, and Wallenstein, in whom all these qualities were united

in their extreme proportions, had crushed the power of the Protestant states, and laid waste, with every circumstance of cruelty, the territories of friends and foes. Wallenstein had been removed from command by the jealous fears of Ferdinand, who at one time fancied that the fortunate and aspiring general aimed, if not at the imperial crown, at the old crown of Bohemia; Maximilian of Bavaria was rejoicing in the possession of the Palatinate, which he had helped to win from his cousin Frederick; but Tilly and Pappenheim were still in the field with a vast army of veteran troops, so flushed with their many recent victories, that they called themselves invincible. But they were soon found to be no match for the highly disciplined, hardy troops from old Scandinavia, led on by a hero and a great tactician. The courtiers at Vienna told the emperor that the Swede was but a king of snow, who would melt away as he approached the south; but the Swede continued his onward course, and there was no melting away, or, if there was, it was of that nature which releases the avalanche from the mountain, to thunder through and overwhelm the valley beneath. The only event that clouded the joy and success of the Protestants was the capture of the rich and Protestant city of Magdeburg, which was effected by Tilly and Pappenheim while the Swedes were occupied in another direction. The ferocious Tilly let loose his wild Croats, Walloons, and Pandours upon the devoted citizens, who were massacred without distinction of age or sex. When they had sacked the richest houses they set fire to the rest, and, a violent wind rising, the whole town was soon wrapped in flames, which consumed both quick and dead. In less than twelve hours one of the finest cities of Germany was reduced to an unsightly heap of ruins and ashes, and 30,000 of its industrious inhabitants had perished by different kinds of deaths, but all horrible. Such a tragedy had not often been perpetrated in modern wars: the sack of Magdeburg excited horror throughout the civilized world; but the Protestants consoled themselves with the belief that it must be followed by the curse of the

Almighty,— and, in fact, it was the last of the emperor's successes in this war. We are called upon to mention the moral and devout bearing of the victorious Swedes, both because it was rare and beautiful in itself, and because, in the course of a few years, it became the model of that English army which terminated the civil war. In the imperial army, which also professed to fight for the blessed cause of religion, there reigned only immorality, lust, cruelty, and disregard of all the virtues and decencies of life: in the army of Gustavus, on the contrary, every fault was punished with severity; but, above all, blasphemy, violence to women, stealing, gaming, and fighting duels. Simplicity also of manners and habits was commanded by the military laws of Sweden; and in the whole camp, and even in the king's tent, there was neither silver nor gold plate. The eye of the sovereign observed as carefully the morals of his troops as their bravery. Every regiment was obliged to form itself in a circle round its chaplain for morning and evening prayers; and this pious act was then performed in the open air.*

It was in the month of November, 1630, that Charles signed his solemn treaty of peace with Spain. Philip, not in the treaty, but in a private letter, promised Charles to restore to his brother-in-law, the Palatine, such parts of his territories (they must have been very inconsiderable) as were then occupied by Spanish troops, and to use his best endeavours with his near relative, the emperor, to reinstate the expelled prince as he was before his acceptance of the Bohemian crown. And Charles, as a fitting return, entered upon a secret contract, whereby he agreed to unite his arms with those of Spain for the subjugation of the Seven United Provinces, which his great predecessor Elizabeth had so largely contributed to free from the oppressive Spanish yoke. Charles, as a share of the spoil, was to have and to hold Zealand and other territories. There had been a talk of this precious scheme before, when Charles and Bucking-

* Schiller's History of the Thirty Years' War.

ham were at Madrid wooing the Infanta. But now the matter went so far that the agreement was signed by Charles's ambassador, Cottington, and by Olivares, who was still the favourite and prime minister in Spain. All this had been done in the closest secrecy,—not a breath of the mystery had got abroad; but Charles, seeing the violence of his Protestant subjects, even when they knew nothing of this projected league with Papists against a Protestant people, might easily divine what would be their fury when the scheme should be broached and carried into operation. It appears to have been this consideration which induced him to hesitate in ratifying the agreement which he had allowed his minister to sign. Thereupon Philip, of course, considered himself freed from the promises he had made concerning the Palatine. A few months after Charles went into a project the very reverse of that he had recently entertained. Flanders and Brabant, which remained to Spain and the pope after so many years of sanguinary warfare, had become the scenes of discontent; or, at least, a certain party had conceived the notion of erecting them into independent states. The King of England forthwith despatched to them Sir Balthazar Gerbier, a native of Antwerp, a good painter, a distinguished critic in the fine arts, an excellent penman, and a very accomplished man of business or intrigue, who had passed from the service of Buckingham into that of Charles. On the 14th of August,* 1632, Gerbier, writing from Brussels, informed his employer that those states, perceiving that the Spaniards were no longer able to defend them and their religion, were determined to make themselves free states, drive out the Spaniards, contract alliances with their neighbours, and conclude a peace with the Hollanders. The Infanta and the Spanish council, he said, were already greatly alarmed and on the alert, for they had received advertisements from England, that those states were

* From an allusion in this letter to a previous despatch, it appears that Gerbier had been at his secret work ever since the month of June.—*Hardwicke State Papers*.

resolved to shake off the Spaniards and make themselves free. "The Infanta," continues Gerbier, "showed the said letters to *Sir Peter Rubens*, who told me that they bore such information as would hazard the lives of many in these countries." The French had been already in this field of intrigue, offering assistance; for it was an idea among them at least as old as the time of Henry IV., if not of Louis XI., that the Rhine was the proper and natural frontier to their fine kingdom, and nobody better understood how to work by indirect means than Cardinal Richelieu. The party with whom Gerbier was intriguing in Flanders and Brabant, indeed, suspected that the French aimed at a conquest, nor were they less suspicious of the intentions of their neighbours the Hollanders, who also had offered them assistance. These particulars, Gerbier says, were communicated to him by a person in disguise, who had chosen an hour in the night for the dangerous conference, and who had the appearance of being a man of high rank. "He spoke to me," continues the secret agent, "as in the name of a whole body which aimed to be supported by an alliance with England, to counterbalance France, who, instead of a confederacy, prepared means to bring these provinces into subjection; which to prevent, the support of England was conceived to be the strongest remedy, and therefore it was desired I should procure, under your majesty's hand and seal, power to hear (under profound secret) what was so considerable, that, showing my authorization, and engaging my word for secrecy, I might know not only the party, but be sure it was no French." The party, however, were no patriots, for one of the first of their proposals was to obtain for themselves English court distinctions,—ribbons and garters.* "I was very attentive," says Gerbier, "unto this discourse, my mind still fixed on the proverb *Diffidentia est mater prudentiæ*, not being certain but that this person might be set on purposely to sound me, if England was desirous of the subversion of the Spanish government. Wherefore

* Gerbier's Letter to Charles in Hardwicke State Papers.

my first answer was with admiration, feigning not well at first to comprehend their design, and with much difficulty these high resolutions, less their success, considered the troubles past and present amongst them, intimating thereby that I lived not here to forge factions; but that, withal, England ought to be accounted as their best and most considerable neighbourhood, both for its situation, strength by sea, commerce, and affection of the people, who have always lived in good intelligence with these countries, being from France whence all the stirrs proceed, as the histories do bear record. The said person promised then that, upon the procuring of my authorization, he would make known himself, desiring that no time might be lost. . . . And seeing the lives of great persons might run hazard by the discovery of these designs, I find myself bound in charity and loyalty not to communicate them any farther than to your majesty, who may impart them unto your prudent council, as in your royal wisdom shall be thought fitting, it being the request made by the secret party. Your majesty may be pleased to weigh the glory which will redound unto your majesty from this alliance, which, excluding the Spaniards for ever from this part of the world, will serve as an assured rampart to other countries, neighbours, and allies of your majesty, and free them from any change or invasion." Gerbier went on to give the king more particulars touching "the great business," telling him how cautious he had been to prevent all subject of suspicion in the King of Spain's ministers, and how he had been continually pressed by the person in disguise to know whether they could count upon Charles's assistance. Charles immediately replied by letter, *written secretly, and all in his own hand*. The business, he said, was so great that, merely to manage it, he was forced to trust somebody, but, as secrecy was especially necessary, he had only trusted Secretary Coke. He told Gerbier that, as he was in peace and friendship with the King of Spain, it would be against both honour and conscience if, without any just cause or quarrel, he debauched his subjects from their allegiance. "But," continued the king, "since I

see a likelihood (almost a necessity) that his Flanders subjects must fall into some other king's or state's protection, and that I am offered, without the least intimation of mine, to have a share therein, the second consideration is, that it were a great imprudence in me to let slip this occasion, whereby I may both advantage myself and hinder the overflowing greatness of my neighbours." He was willing, he said, to take the protection of these people into his hands, as they flew to him without his seeking: if he did not protect them others would; and the King of Spain, instead of being offended, ought to be pleased; for if he, Charles, did not interfere, then the States would fall into the hands of Philip's enemies or rebels. "And therefore," continued the royal casuist, "upon great consideration I have sent you power to treat with these disguised persons, and do hereby authorise you to promise them, in my name, protection against anybody but the King of Spain, and to defend them from him and all the world else from injuries." This letter, with a commission to Gerbier, was enclosed in a despatch written by Secretary Coke, who told the agent that the commission was as full as could be expected, secrecy not now permitting more formalities. "Your instructions," said the secretary, "will be made more particular and full when the parties discover themselves, and when you send word *what they offer* and what they require." On the 24th of September, Secretary Coke wrote again to instruct him how to convince the Catholic States of Flanders and Brabant that France was not to be thought of, and that England was their surest refuge, which would best agree both with their ecclesiastical and temporal estates, "both which," continues the secretary, running in search of arguments to prove how nicely and nearly the Anglican Church could agree with the Roman, "you must endeavour to persuade to be of the same; for their churchmen, you say, are the most active for this change, and, if it had not been for the scandal of religion, they would have expressed themselves for a treaty with England before others. . . Yet England, in respect of religion, is far more proper for them to join withal than the

Seven United Provinces can be." Having arranged for the clergy, Secretary Coke, who, no doubt, wrote under the dictation of Charles, proceeded to deal with the nobility, bidding Gerbier to declare to them at large, and on all occasions, how much better it would be for them to adhere to a potent king like the King of England than to a popular and factious government like that of the Hollanders. "Amongst *those boors*," continues the secretary, "where all are equal and capable of the highest places, their honours and degrees can have no pre-eminence, but be subject to the affronts of the baser sort, without civility or respect, which noble minds cannot endure." From the nobility he passed to the merchants and base traders, and from these to the native soldiery, telling Gerbier how to deal with these classes in order to draw them to the king's interest. This underhand negotiation was prolonged through many months, the King of England wishing the conspirators to declare their country independent, and the conspirators wishing him to give them something more than general and vague promises. At last the Spanish court, which had some clue to the secret correspondence from the beginning, discovered the whole,* and reinforced its army in Flanders and Brabant; and thereupon the plot fell to the ground. If such proceedings had taken place between private individuals, no one would hesitate as to the proper epithet to be applied to them; but they had been so common between kings and governments, that we think Charles's conduct on this occasion has been censured with undue severity. He acted precisely as the great Elizabeth had done; and even at a much later and morally better age, English statesmen would not have hesitated to do as much in the same dark manner to counteract the intrigues of other states, and more especially to prevent the French from making themselves masters of the Low Countries.

Charles now concluded, or rather renewed, a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, and undertook to send six thou-

* Lord Cottington, then ambassador at Madrid, was accused of divulging the whole business to the Spanish court.

sand men to join that victorious sovereign in the heart of Germany. But, as there was no declaration of war with the emperor, he thought it proper and delicate to make it appear as if this force was raised in Scotland by the Marquis of Hamilton on his own account, and without the king's knowledge. When Hamilton was getting ready, Donald, Lord Reay, and Major Borthwick accused the marquis of raising troops to usurp the crown of Scotland. Hamilton embarked with his little army,—“but so little care was taken of provisions and accommodations for his men that they were brought into a sick and shattered condition, so that they mouldered away in a short time ; and the marquis was forced to return to England without gaining any great renown by this action, wherein he neither did service to the King of Sweden nor to himself, or to the Protestant cause in Germany.”* When Hamilton returned, Charles received him into as great favour and trust as ever.

We cannot condense half of the circumstances which occurred at home between the dissolution of the parliament of 1629 and the calling that of 1640,—circumstances which discontented the mass of the English people, and which gave zeal to the timid or lukewarm, fury to the zealots. We shall, however, try to explain, in as few words as possible, the most important of these provocations. In contempt of the Petition of Right, the king persisted in levying tonnage and poundage, even augmenting the rates on sundry kinds of goods, and ordering that the goods of such as refused payment should be instantly seized and sold. The Commons had denounced the man as a traitor that should pay these illegal taxes. And, at the same time that Charles thus availed himself of the resources of modern commerce, he arbitrarily revived certain feudal uses or abuses. Henry III. and Edward I., when their poverty obscured their chivalry, had introduced the practice of summoning their military tenants, worth 20*l.* per annum, to receive at their hands the costly honour of knighthood: many declined this

* Whitelock.

honour, and were allowed to compound by paying a moderate fine. Elizabeth and James had both availed themselves of this ancient prerogative; and the change in the value of money rendered it more oppressive than formerly, though only persons esteemed worth 40*l.* per annum were now subjected to it. In many instances, in James's time, the sheriffs purposely neglected to serve these writs, and many persons, when they were served, took no notice of them; but now Charles appointed a regular commission to attend solely to this vexatious method of raising money; and these commissioners called upon all landed proprietors, rated at 40*l.*, to pay their fines for not being knighted. When any resistance was offered, the parties were dragged into the expensive law-courts, and there invariably cast, and forced to pay, or thrown into prison. Nor was there any fixed rule or rate; for, when any man was a known Puritan or Precisian, or otherwise obnoxious to the court, he was made to pay a great deal more than another. Nor was the practice limited to those who were liable as military or feudal tenants: lessees, who held no land by any such tenure; merchants whose fortunes had risen from bales of goods, and not from the sword or lance, were called upon to pay, were prosecuted and persecuted. It is said that 100,000*l.* were thus screwed and squeezed out of the subject; and the king preferred this method to meeting and agreeing with the House of Commons. The most intolerable sufferings of the people had arisen in the old time from the atrocious game or forest laws. This bloody and disgraceful code had been allowed in good part to drop into desuetude, but Charles resolved to revive at least all such parts of it as might tend to the increase of his revenue. The Earl of Holland was appointed to hold a court for the recovery of the king's forestal rights, or those lands which had once belonged to the royal chaces. In this manner people were driven from many tracts which they and their fathers had long occupied as their own; gentlemen's estates were encroached upon, and, as the king was the litigant, the opposite party, even if he gained his cause, which in such circumstances he had but slight chance of doing, was dis-

tressed or ruined by the costs of the action, which he had to pay whether he was the loser or the winner. The Earl of Southampton was reduced almost to poverty by a decision which deprived him of his estate adjoining the New Forest in Hampshire. In Essex the royal forests grew so large, that people said they had swallowed up the whole county. Rockingham Forest was increased from a circuit of six miles to one of sixty miles, and all trespassers were punished by the imposition of enormous fines. "Which burden," says Clarendon, "lighted most upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharpness."* To enlarge Richmond Park, Charles deprived many proprietors, not merely of their rights of common, but also of their freehold lands. It should appear that he afterwards gave some compensation; but the act at first had in it all the worst features of a cruel and plundering despotism. The House of Commons had scarcely rendered a service more important to the nation than by insisting on the suppression of monopolies: but now the king began to revive those abuses also; and, for the sum of 10,000*l.*, which they paid for their patent, and for a duty of 8*l.* sterling upon every ton of soap they should make, which they promised to pay the king without vote of parliament, he chartered a company with exclusive privileges to make soap. These incorporated soap-boilers, as a part of their bargain, received powers to appoint searchers, and they exercised a sort of inquisition over the trade. Such dealers as resisted their interference, or tried to make soap on their own account, were handed over to the tender mercies of the Star Chamber. This precedent was followed in the erection of a similar company of starch-makers, and in a great variety of other grants, till monopolies, in transgression or evasion of the late statute, became as common as they had been under James and Elizabeth.† And no less unjust proceedings of other

* Hist.

* For a full list of these monopolies, see Rymer, and the reports of the debates of the Long Parliament.

kinds, some of them ridiculous, some scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which (we should say *justly*) fell to the king, the profit to other men—for the expense of collection was enormous, and only a small portion of the money ever reached the royal coffers.* Proclamations, which James had carried to such excess, and which had been branded by parliament, were again brought into play, and arbitrary fines were exacted from such as disobeyed these proclamations, which were in themselves illegal. The late Solomon had decided in his wisdom that the plague and other great mischiefs were solely owing to the excessive and constantly increasing size of London, and he had proclaimed over and over again that people must not be so wicked and so foolhardy as to build any more houses in the metropolis. But his proclamations were disregarded—the judges had declared them not to be according to law; and the Londoners had gone on building faster than ever. Charles, who was more steady in wrong proceedings than his father, appointed a commission to examine into this growth and increase, and to make money of those who had built the new houses. In general the latter got off by paying a fine equivalent to three years' estimated rent of their houses, and an annual tax to the crown; but in some instances the houses were knocked down, and the owners made to pay a penalty, besides suffering this destruction of their property.†

And, as if all these were not sufficient causes of disgust and irritation, there were the galling and high-handed proceedings of the earl marshal's court, which will be described more particularly hereafter. But what more than anything heaped coals on the doomed head of the king was the conduct of the high-church party, led on by Laud. This bishop is allowed, by one of his

* Clarendon says, that of 200,000*l.* drawn from the subject by such ways, in a year, scarce 1500*l.* came to the king's use or account.

† Rushworth gives several most arbitrary proceedings in the Star Chamber against men who had built houses in contravention of the king's proclamations.

warmest admirers, to have been a zealot in his heart, "of too warm blood and too positive a nature;"* but he followed the course of Archbishop Bancroft, and was an emphatic flatterer of the king. When in the month of May, 1630, Henrietta Maria gave birth to a prince, afterwards that godly king Charles II., Laud baptized the infant, and composed a prayer upon the occasion, in which was the petition,—“Double his father’s graces, O Lord! upon him, *if it be possible.*” Bishop Williams, the ex-lord keeper, now in disgrace, and almost a patriot, forgetting his own performances in former times, called this “three-piled flattery and loathsome divinity.” A few months after composing this prayer, Laud called before him, in the Star Chamber, Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman and a Puritan preacher, for writing against the queen and the bishops in a book entitled ‘An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion’s plea against Prelacy.’ The tone of the book was disrespectful, fanatic, and in some respects brutal; but we lose sight of its demerits in the atrocious punishment of the author, who vainly pleaded, in the Star Chamber, that he had offended through zeal, and not through any personal malice. He was degraded from the ministry, publicly whipped in Palace-yard, placed in the pillory for two hours, had an ear cut off, a nostril slit, and was branded on one of his cheeks with the letters S. S., for “Sower of Sedition.” After these detestable operations he was sent back to his prison; but, at the end of one short week, before his wounds were healed, he was again dragged forth to public whipping, the pillory, the knife, and the brand; and after he had been deprived of his other ear, split in the other nostril, and burnt on the other cheek, he was thrust back into his dungeon, there to lie for life. After ten years, indeed, Leighton regained his liberty; but it was by the mercy neither of Laud nor Charles, but through that parliament which destroyed alike the bishop and the king.†

* Sir Philip Warwick’s Memoirs.

† “The severe punishment of this unfortunate gentleman

Blind to the almost inevitable consequences of persecution, Laud neglected no opportunity of enforcing conformity. By his advice Charles had issued a proclamation forbidding all preachers to condemn Arminianism or to enter upon that controversy. Though not yet the chief of the Anglican church, for old Abbot the archbishop of Canterbury was still living, Laud wielded or directed all its thunders.

The Puritans now began to emigrate in great numbers to North America, preferring a wilderness with religious liberty to their native country without it. The pilgrim fathers chiefly settled in New England. Those who remained at home were sharpened and embittered by persecution, and by the whole tone and manner of Charles's court, which, be it said, though moral, or at least decent, compared with that of James, was far from being so pure and exemplary as it has been described by certain writers.* Being pretty well shut out from the pulpit, and hunted down in their conventicles—having no other valve through which to let off their rarefied feelings,—they had recourse to the shackled press. In Hilary Term, 1634, by which time Laud was primate, Mr. William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, was brought into the Star Chamber, together with Michael Sparkes, "a common publisher of unlawful and unlicensed books," William Buckmer, and four other defend-

many people pitied, he being a person well known both for learning and other abilities; only his untempered zeal (as his countrymen gave out) prompted him to that mistake."—*Rushworth*.—He was the father of the celebrated Archbishop Leighton.

* The letters of Garrard and of Conway, in the Strafford Correspondence, several of the contemporary Memoirs, and even occasional passages and hints in Clarendon's great but one-sided work, will fully bear out our statement as to the morals of Charles's court. The words of Lord Sunderland have often been quoted. That nobleman, writing from the army to his wife, says that the indecency of the language he heard in the camp was so great, that it made him fancy himself at court.—*Sydney Papers*.

ants, upon informations filed by the attorney-general, Noy.* The offence charged was, that Mr. Prynne about the eighth year of Charles's reign (being the current year), had compiled and put in print a libellous volume, entitled by the name of 'Histrio-Mastix; the Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragedie;' which was directed against all plays, masques, dances, masquerades, &c. "And although he knew well that his majesty's royal queen, the lords of the council, &c., were, in their public festivals, oftentimes present spectators of some masques and dances, and many recreations that were tolerable and in themselves sinless, and so declared to be by a book printed in the time of his majesty's royal father; yet Mr. Prynne, in his book, had railed not only against stage plays, comedies, dancings, and all other exercises of the people, and against all such as frequent or behold them; but further, in particular, against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bon-fires, and May-poles; nay, even against the dressing-up of houses with green-ivy." He was also accused of directly casting aspersions upon her majesty the queen, and of stirring up the people to discontent against his majesty the king, whom he had treated with "terms unfit for so sacred a person." The fact was that Prynne was a learned fanatic, a spiritual ascetic, who conscientiously believed that plays, and masques, and other sports, in which the queen and court indulged to excess, were unlawful to Christians; and he particularly attempted to demonstrate in his book of *a thousand pages*, that "by divers arguments and by the authority of sundry texts of Scripture,—of the whole primitive church,—of 55 synods and councils,—of 71 fathers and Christian writers before the year of our Lord 1200,—of above 150 foreign and domestic Protestant and Popish authors since,—of 40 heathen philosophers, &c.,—and of our own English statutes, magistrates, universities, writers, preachers, — that popular stage-plays are sinful, lewd, ungodly spectacles, and most per-

* Prynne had already undergone some persecution. He was one of the first to attack the arbitrary doctrines of Montague.—*Heylin*.

nicious corruptions." Against masques and dancing (the last a dangerous thing to touch when there was a French queen on the throne) Prynne was equally severe. But the whole tenor of the book, according to Noy, was not less against the orthodox church of England, than against their sacred majesties. "The music in the church," said the attorney-general, "the charitable term he giveth it is, not to be a noise of men, but rather a bleating of brute beasts: choristers bellow the tenor as it were oxen, bark a counter-point as a kennel of dogs, roar out a treble like a sort of bulls, grunt out a bass as it were a number of hogs." Laud was also incensed at Prynne's bestowing some praise upon the factious book of Dr. Leighton. Prynne's book had been written four years ago, and the greater part of it had been printed, if not published, two years ago; but it happened that, at the moment it was mentioned to the king by the bishop, Henrietta Maria was rehearsing a part which she shortly afterwards acted in a play or pastoral with her maids of honour.* Hence every abusive term was held to be directed against her majesty. Charles was greatly exasperated, but it is said that he would have let the matter drop, and the author go unpunished, if it had not been for the activity of Laud and his chaplains. In mentioning that the tribunal was the Star Chamber, we have sufficiently indicated that Prynne's sentence must be atrocious. "For the book," said the Lord Chief Justice Richardson (encouraged into eloquence by the approving nods of Laud, who was present during the whole trial, as he generally was at all the most important or most arbitrary Star Chamber prosecutions), "for the book, I do hold it a most scandalous,

* "That which the queen's majesty, some of her ladies, and all her maids of honour, are now practising upon, is a pastoral penned by Mr. Walter Montague, wherein her majesty is pleased to act a part, as well for her recreation as for the exercise of her English. Ben Jonson (who I thought had been dead) hath written a play against next term, called the 'Magnetic Lady.'"—Letter from Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, in Sir H. Ellis.

infamous libel to the king's majesty, a most pious and religious king; to the queen's majesty, a most excellent and gracious queen (*he could not praise her religion because she was a Roman Catholic*), such a one as this kingdom never enjoyed the like, and I think the earth never had a better. It is scandalous to all the honourable lords and the kingdom itself, and to all sorts of people. I say eye never saw, nor ear ever heard of, such a scandalous and seditious thing as this mis-shapen monster is. Yet give me leave to read a word or two of it, where he cometh to tell the reasons why he writ this book:—because he saw the number of plays, play-books, play-haunters, and play-houses so exceedingly increased, there being above 40,000 play-books, being now more vendable than the choicest sermons. What saith he in his epistle dedicatory, speaking of play-books?—They bear so big a price, and are printed in far better paper, than most octavo and quarto Bibles, which hardly find so good a vent as they; and then come in such abundance, as they exceed all number, and 'tis a year's time to peruse them over, they are so multiplied: and then he putteth in the margin Ben Jonson, &c., printed in better paper than most Bibles. Stage-players, &c., saith he, none are gainers and honoured by them but the devil and hell; and when they have taken their wills in lust here, their souls go to eternal torment hereafter. And this must be the end of this monster's horrible sentence. He saith, so many as are in play-houses are so many unclean spirits: and that play-haunters are little better than incarnate devils. He doth not only condemn all play-writers, but all protectors of them, and all beholding of them; and dancing at plays, and singing at plays, they are all damned and not less than to hell. I beseech your lordships, but in a word, to give me leave to read unto you what he writes of dancing. It is the devil's profession, and he that entereth into a dance entereth into a devilish profession; and so many paces in a dance, so many paces to hell." All this was Puritanism run mad—the being righteous overmuch, at the expense of the lightest and brightest enjoyments of all ages and all climes; but how

it could be made sedition, and almost high treason, we know not, unless it were by connecting it with the fact—which was not done openly—that the queen was a great dancer, and by holding it to be seditious and treasonable to hint that a queen could go to the place so often mentioned by the lord chief justice. This high functionary, however, went on to make out his case upon other grounds. “He writeth thus: that Nero’s acting and frequenting plays was the chiefest cause that stirred up others to conspire his death And, in another place, that Tribellius Pollio relates that Martian, Heraclius, and Claudius, three worthy Romans, conspired together to murder Gallienus, the emperor, a man much besotted and taken up with plays, to which he likewise drew the magistrates and people by his lewd example. . . . Now, my lords, that they should be called three worthy persons that do conspire an emperor’s death though a wicked emperor, it is no Christian expression. If subjects have an ill prince, marry, what is the remedy? They must pray to God to forgive him, and not say they are worthy subjects that do kill him.” After sundry invectives, which the prisoner heard, standing behind that other fierce persecutor of the Puritans, Bishop Neile, the lord chief justice concluded:—“Mr. Prynne, I must now come to my sentence; though I am very sorry, for I have known you long; but now I must utterly forsake you, for I find that you have forsaken God, his religion, and your allegiance, obedience, and honour, which you owe to both their excellent majesties, the rule of charity to all noble ladies and persons in the kingdom, and forsaken all goodness. Therefore, Mr. Prynne, I shall proceed to my censure, wherein I agree with my Lord Cottington:—First, for the burning of your book in as disgraceful a manner as may be, whether in Cheapside or Paul’s Churchyard; for though Paul’s Churchyard be a *consecrated place*, yet heretical books have been burnt in that place.* And because Mr. Prynne is

* In proposing the sentence of Michael Sparkes, the printer of Prynne’s book, Cottington had said, “I do fine Sparkes 500*l.* to the king, and to stand in the pillory, with-

of Lincoln's Inn, and that his profession may not sustain disgrace by his punishment, I do think it fit, with my Lord Cottington, that he be put from the bar and degraded in the university ; and I leave it to my lords the lord bishops to see that done ; and for the pillory, I hold it just and equal, though there were no statute for it. In the case of a high crime it may be done by the discretion of the court ; so I do agree to that too. I fine him 5000*l.* ; and I know he is as well able to pay 5000*l.* as one-half of 1000*l.* ; and perpetual imprisonment I do think fit for him, and to be restrained from writing,—neither to have pen, ink, nor paper ; yet let him have some pretty prayer book, to pray to God to forgive him his sins ; but to write, in good faith, I would never have him : for, Mr. Prynne, I do judge you by your book to be an insolent spirit, and one that did think by this book to have got the name of a Reformer, to set up the Puritan or separatist faction." Mr. Secretary Coke next fell upon the condemned prisoner, beginning with an unquestionable truth. "By this vast book," said the secretary, "it appeareth that Mr. Prynne hath read more than he hath studied, and studied more than considered, whereas if he had read but one sentence of Solomon, it had saved him from this danger. The preacher saith be not over just, nor make thyself over wise, for

out touching of his ears, with a paper on his head to declare his offence, and it is most necessary in these times ; and for the pillory to be in Paul's churchyard." Here Laud had exclaimed, evidently to the annoyance of Cottington, "*It is a consecrated place !*" "I cry your grace mercy," said my Lord Cottington ; "then let it be in Cheapside."

This talking of consecrated places was rather new to the English Protestants ; but Laud was now ceremoniously consecrating churches, churchyards, &c., to the horror of the Puritans. The Lord chief Justice might have said that not only had heretical books been burned, but blood also spilt in St. Paul's churchyard. The horrid execution of the gunpowder conspirators, Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, Bates, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Guido Fawkes, had been performed at "the west end of St. Paul's churchyard."

why wilt thou destroy thyself?" Coke then proceeded to show the necessity of mildness and toleration to the vices of society, quoting Scripture again and again, but in rather an awkward manner, considering the monstrous intolerance which the court had shown to the prisoner. He insisted particularly that every man was not a fit reprehender of folly and vice,—that Mr. Prynne had no invitation, no office, no *interest* to make himself a censor. But everything hitherto said was milk and honey compared to the gall poured forth by the noble Earl of Dorset. After complaining of the swarms of murmurers and mutineers not fit to breathe, he exclaimed, "My lords, it is time to make illustration to purge the air. And when will justice ever bring a more fit oblation than this Achan? Adam, in the beginning, put names on creatures correspondent to their natures. The title *he* hath given this book is *Histrion-mastix*, or rather, as Mr. Secretary Coke observed, *Anthropo-mastix*; but that comes not home,—it deserves a far higher title, *Damnation*, in plain English, of *Prince*, *Prelacy*, *Peers*, *People*. . . My lords, when God had made all his works, he looked upon them and saw that they were good. This gentleman, the devil having put spectacles on his nose, says that all is bad; no recreation, no vocation, no condition good; neither sex, magistrate, ordinance, custom divine or human; things animate and inanimate, all, my lords, wrapt up in *massa damnata*,—all in the ditch of destruction." In some respects this was a just criticism of Prynne's sour book; but their lordships showed they could be as abusive and uncharitable as the fanatic Puritan. "Do you, Mr. Prynne," said the Earl of Dorset, "find fault with the court and courtiers' habits, with silk and satin divines? I must say of you, you are all purple within,—all pride, malice, and all disloyalty; you are like a tumbler, which is commonly squint-eyed, who look one way and run another way; though you seemed, by the title of your book, to scourge stage-plays, yet it was to make people believe that there was an apostasy in the magistrates; but when did ever church so flourish, and state better prosper?"

The courtier, who was an adept at long speeches, proceeded to draw an oratorical eulogium of the immeasurable virtues of Henrietta Maria. Nay, Dorset, in the swing of his eloquence, did not scruple to praise her religion, saying that her zeal in the ways of God was unparalleled, and if all its saints were as she, the Roman church was not to be condemned. Going even further than this, he spoke as if he were privy to what passed between the queen and her confessor. "On my conscience," said he, "she troubleth her ghostly father with nothing, but that she hath nothing to trouble him withal." But then, changing this gentle tone, the noble Dorset again addressed the Puritan in the following words, which should be remembered whenever the reader is startled by the denunciations of the religious party:—"Mr. Prynne, I do declare you to be a schism-maker in the church, a sedition-sower in the commonwealth, a wolf in sheep's clothing, in a word, *omnium malorum nequissimus*. I shall fine him 10,000*l.*, which is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserveth; I will not set him at liberty, no more than a plagued man or a mad dog, who, though he cannot bite, he will foam: he is so far from being a sociable soul that he is not a rational soul; he is fit to live in dens with such beasts of prey as wolves and tigers like himself: therefore I do condemn him to perpetual imprisonment as those monsters that are no longer fit to live among men, nor see light. Now, for corporal punishment, my lords, I should burn him in the forehead and slit him in the nose, for I find that it is confessed of all that Dr. Leighton's offence was less than Mr. Prynne's; then why should Mr. Prynne have a less punishment? He that was guilty of murder was marked in a place where he might be seen, as Cain was. I should be loth he should escape with his ears, for he may get a periwig, which he now so much inveighs against, and so hide them, or force his conscience to make use of his unlovely love-locks on both sides. Therefore I would have him branded on the forehead, slit in the nose, and his ears cropped too."*

* The very loyal Sir Philip Warwick, who never even

The infamous sentence was executed with the additional barbarities proposed by the noble and gallant Earl of Dorset.

Between the first arrest and the punishment of Prynne, Charles had made a magnificent journey into Scotland, where the people, too forgetful of the effects of the last royal visit they had received from James, had been complaining of neglect—as if the king thought the ancient crown of Scotland not worth his journey thither.—Charles was attended in this journey by Laud, it being a principal object with him to force the Liturgy, with all the innovations in the Anglican church proposed, or about to be proposed, by his favourite bishop upon his Scottish subjects. The Scots received him with great demonstrations of joy; many of the nobility ruined themselves by feasting and entertaining his numerous court; and on the 18th of June, 1633, Charles was crowned at Edinburgh. The ceremony was performed, as of right, by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's; but there were several circumstances in it which gave offence to the people. Laud, for example, rudely jostled and displaced the Archbishop of Glasgow, who was standing by the king's side, because that prelate had scrupled to officiate in the em-

mentions or alludes to the trial and barbarous punishment of Prynne, calls the Earl of Dorset, "a gentlemen of great parts and elocution." Clarendon, as is usual with that great penman, gives the earl's character at greater length; but, though eulogistic, the violence, dissipation, and other vices of the man shine through all his rhetorical varnish. Some years before this, Dorset, then Sir Edward Sackville, signalised himself by a murderous duel. According to Clarendon, "he entered into a fatal quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young nobleman of Scotland, the Lord Bruce, upon which they both transported themselves into Flanders, and, attended only by two surgeons, placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir but upon the fall of one of them, they fought under the walls of Antwerp, where the Lord Bruce fell dead upon the place; and Sir Edward Sackville being likewise hurt, retired into the next monastery."—*Hist.*

broidered habits—very like the robes of the Roman hierarchy—which the English bishop had prescribed.* The introduction of a high altar, tapers, chalices, and genuflections, recalled the memory of the old religion, and the oil, and the unction, and other parts of the performance, all savoured to the majority of the Scots of the rankest idolatry.† The coronation was succeeded by a parliament—stratagem having been employed to secure the election of such lords of the articles as were noted for their entire and unscrupulous devotion to the royal will. They voted supplies with unprecedented liberality and promptitude. A land-tax of 400,000*l.* Scotch, and the sixteenth penny of legal interest were granted for six years. The harmony of the parliament was first disturbed by a question about the attire of the clergy; Laud and the king having made up their minds that the Scottish ministers should wear precisely the same garments as their English brethren. The subject seemed one of awful importance to many of the Scotch; and it was not trivial if taken in connexion with other circumstances and the temper of the government. If Charles, by his arbitrary will, should impose the embroidered cope and the white surplice—which the people abominated as vestiges of Papistry—he might, by a like process, interfere with the most important rights and privileges of the nation. Silence now would assuredly be taken as a tacit submission to further encroachments.

* Immediately before the coronation a sermon was preached by David Lindsey, then Bishop of Brechin, upon the text, 1 Kings, v. 39:—"And all the people said God save King Solomon." During the coronation "it was observed that Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, who attended the king (being a stranger), was high in his carriage, taking upon him the order and managing of the ceremonies; and, for an instance, Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, being placed at the king's right hand, and Lindsey, then Archbishop of Glasgow, at his left, Bishop Laud took Glasgow, and thrust him from the king, with these words: '*Are you a churchman, and wants the coat of your order?*'"—*Rushworth.*

† *Rushworth.*—*Spalding.*—*Burnet.*

But the Scottish lords were not disposed to be silent. The aged Lord Melville, addressing himself to Charles, exclaimed, "I have sworn with your father and the whole kingdom to the Confession of Faith, in which the innovations intended by these articles were solemnly abjured." Charles was disconcerted and confounded by this bold remark; he rose, and withdrew to take counsel of himself and others. But soon he returned, repossessed of his authoritative tone; and when they resumed their deliberations, he haughtily commanded them not to debate, but to vote; and, refusing to separate the questions which they were willing to approve, from his copes and surplices, to which they objected, he produced a paper containing a list of the members, and said, "Your names are here; I shall know to-day who will do me service and who will not." The articles were rejected by fifteen peers and forty-five commoners, making a clear majority of the House; and yet the lord register impudently reported them as affirmed by parliament. The Earl of Rothes boldly declared that the votes were erroneously collected, or falsely reported, and demanded a scrutiny. If Charles's conduct be correctly reported, it is decisive in itself of his whole character and temper. It is said that he stood up, and refused the scrutiny, unless the Earl of Rothes would, at his peril, take upon himself to arraign the lord register of the capital and treasonable crime of falsifying the votes—a proceeding which would have involved the unsuccessful accuser in ruin; and, from the tone of the king and the timidity or subservience of that parliament, Rothes might well despair of establishing his accusation, however just. He was silent; the articles, though really rejected by a majority, were ratified in the Scottish manner by the touch of the sceptre; and the parliament was forthwith dissolved upon the 28th of June. Charles did not venture upon his English practice of imprisoning refractory members, but he studiously testified his high displeasure against those who had opposed his will. They were excluded from a lavish dispensation of honours and promo-

tions; were received at court with reproaches or sullen silence; were turned into ridicule; were set down as schismatic and seditious men. Having made Bishop Laud a privy counsellor of Scotland, and heard him preach in *pontificalibus* in the royal chapel of Holyrood; having established "singing men" in the said chapel, and set up an episcopal see at Edinburgh, with a diocese extending over ancient Lothian from the Forth to Berwick, and with rich endowments in old church lands, which certain great nobles had, by a private and not unprofitable bargain, agreed to surrender, for the sake of example, to others, Charles made a posting journey to the queen at Greenwich, where he arrived after four days on the 20th of July. Laud, who was not so good a traveller, followed him by slow stages, and reached his palace at Fulham on the 26th. "On Sunday, August the 4th" (we use the prelate's own words) "news came to court of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's death, and the king resolved presently to give it me, which he did August 6th. That very morning at Greenwich, there came one to me seriously that vowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a cardinal. I went presently to the king, and acquainted him both with the thing and person." To be promised the primacy of the Anglican church, and a cardinal's hat from the pope, upon one and the same day, was a combination of circumstances of a very extraordinary kind! Under date of Saturday, August the 17th, he says: "I had a serious offer made me again to be a cardinal (*this seems to prove that he had not rejected the first offer in a very angry or decided manner*); I was then from court, but so soon as I came thither (which was Wednesday, August 21) I acquainted his majesty with it; but my answer again was, that *somewhat* dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is." At a later period, when the scourged, mutilated, and maddened Puritans were hunting Laud to the scaffold, he said, in alluding to this remarkable passage of his life: "His majesty, very prudently and religiously, yet in a calm way, the person of-

fering it having relation to some ambassador, freed me from that both trouble and danger.”* Some agent in the singular transaction let out the secret of the hat, the effect of which upon the Puritans may be conceived.† Having definitively settled the business of the cardinals, Laud was formally installed in the archbishopric of Canterbury on the 19th of September.

He went on fearlessly with his high-handed proceedings in the church. But he had not waited for the primacy to begin these; for even during old Abbot's life he had obtained the almost entire disposal of bishoprics. and, as Bishop of London, had introduced numerous changes into the churches of his diocese, and the cathedral of St. Paul's, which he began to rebuild and beautify with money obtained, for the most part, in an irregular and oppressive manner. According to the doctrine of the majority of the English preachers and of the reformed churches abroad, the Almighty cared not for temples built with hands; simplicity, as far as possible, removed from the pomp, the glare, and glitter of the Roman church, was most acceptable unto him, and a barn as good a temple as the vast and wondrous dome of St. Peter's itself, provided only those within it worshipped in sincerity and truth. Laud thought differently, as no doubt did many good and conscientious persons, who had long been representing that it was indecorous to worship God in places no better than stables. Soon after the death of Buckingham, when Bishop Laud “had great favour with the king,” a proclamation was issued to the bishops for the repair of decayed churches throughout the kingdom.” It was asserted in this royal ordinance, that by law the same ought to be repaired and maintained at the charge of the inhabitants and others having land in those chapelries and parishes respectively, who had

* Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud.

† Hobbes, in his tractate ‘De Cive,’ published some nine years after, alludes to the strange rumour, but treats it as an absurd and malicious party calumny. But Laud's own Diary had not then been made public, to show the man in his true colours as painted by himself.

wilfully neglected to repair the same, being consecrated places of God's worship and divine service. His majesty charged and commanded all archbishops and bishops to take special care that these repairs were done, and by themselves and their officers to take a view and survey of them. The parishioners and landlords thought that a part, if not the whole, of the expense, instead of falling solely upon them, ought to be defrayed out of the tithes which they paid; but what was calculated to produce still greater disgust was the concluding clause of the proclamation, wherein the bishops were ordered "to use the powers of the Ecclesiastical Court for putting the same in due execution; and that the judges be required not to interrupt this good work by their too easy granting of prohibitions."* That is, the judges were not to interfere to stop the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court in extorting money from the subject for the repairing and adorning of churches and chapels. Nor did Charles and Laud stop here; for in the month of May, 1631, a commission was issued, with the usual arbitrary forms, empowering the privy council "to hear and examine all differences which shall arise betwixt any of our courts of justice, especially between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction."† Some three months before the issuing of this commission, Laud astonished the people of London by his newly made or revived ceremonial of consecrating churches. The first which he so consecrated was that of St. Catherine Creed, a London Church, which had not been rebuilt, but only repaired, but which was pronounced by him to require the ceremony, because new timber and other materials, not consecrated, had been introduced. He proceeded to St. Catherine's in the greatest state, an infinite number of people of all sorts "drawing together," says his sympathizing biographer, Heylin, "to behold that ceremony to which they had so long been strangers, ignorant altogether of the antiquity and the necessity of it." In fact, the Romish aspect of

* See the proclamation, dated the 11th of October, 1629, in Rushworth.

† Rymer.

the ceremony, from beginning to end, gave scandal and alarm to the majority of the spectators. To begin his repairs at St. Paul's with pomp and effect, he conducted the king thither in state, and after a fitting sermon Charles took a view of the dilapidations of the church, which appear to have been very serious. Soon after a commission was issued under the great seal, appointing money brought in for the purpose of repairs to be paid into the chamber of London, and declaring further, that "the judges of the prerogative courts, and all officials throughout the several bishoprics of England and Wales, upon the decease of persons intestate, should be excited to remember this church out of what was proper to be given to pious uses."* The clergy, being summoned by their ordinaries, gave towards the repairs of St. Paul's a kind of annual subsidy; Sir Paul Pindar gave 4000*l.* and other assistance; the king contributed altogether about 10,000*l.*, Laud himself only 100*l.* per annum. As more money was wanted, it was sought for in the arbitrary fines extorted in the Star Chamber and in the High Commission Courts, in which Laud was all prevalent, and where he carried two great objects at once, by intermeddling with men's consciences and private conduct, and by making their punishment contribute to his great object of rendering St. Paul's a kind of rival of St. Peter's. "He intended the discipline of the Church," says Clarendon, in a striking passage, "should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished, the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted

* Life of Laud.

to their shame and punishment ; and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge, so the fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding St. Paul's church, and thought, therefore, to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately reduced and excused: which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Star Chamber more felt and murmured against, and sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill intention towards the church."* Well supplied with money from this curious variety of sources, and spurred by the active, impatient spirit of Laud, the workmen proceeded apace, but with more rapidity than good taste or attention to congruity. Inigo Jones restored the sides with a clumsy Gothic, and threw up in the western front a fine Corinthian portico; but before the body of the work was finished the bishop was brought to the block; and during the civil wars St. Paul's was converted into barracks for the parliament's dragoons. It got abroad that Laud, in speaking before his majesty, had expressed himself in favour of the rule of celibacy as imposed on all Roman priests by Pope Gregory, and in disparagement of the married clergy, saying that he, for his part, other things being equal, should, in the disposal of benefices, always give the preference to such clergymen as lived in celibacy. This was touching a most sensitive chord: there were some things in which the churchmen of the establishment would willingly have resumed the ancient usage; but a return to celibacy was horrible and atrocious in their eyes. A loud and universal murmur warned Laud that he had gone too far. His retractation was adroitly managed. He immediately got up a marriage between one of his own chaplains and a daughter of his friend or creature Windebank, performed the nuptial service himself in a very public

* Hist. Reb.

manner, and gave the married chaplain preferment. We have deplored the fanatical and barbarous destruction of works of art connected with the old religion : Laud—we can scarcely believe from mere taste—was most anxious to preserve such fragments as had hitherto escaped, and to supply the places of some of those which had perished. But the way in which he went to work only gave a fresh impetus to the iconoclastic fury. Mr. Sherfield, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and recorder of Sarum, by direction of a vestry, and in accordance with acts of parliament and canons of the reformed church, caused a picture on glass to be removed from the window of a church and broken to pieces.* Laud, thereupon, brought him up in the Star Chamber, maintaining that he had usurped on the jurisdiction of the bishop and that of his majesty as supreme head of the church. He there ventured to defend the use of painted images in places of worship, and counted among the evils which attended their destruction the keeping moderate Catholics away from church. Some members of the court presumed to hint that Laud was leaning towards popery ; but the majority sentenced Sherfield to pay 500*l.* to the king, to lose his office of recorder, to find security that he would break no more images, and also “to make a public acknowledgment of his offence, not only in the parish church of St. Edmond's, where it was committed, but in the cathedral church itself, that the bishop, in contempt of whose authority he had played this pageant, might have reparation.”† Upon Laud's first removal to the see of London, he presented to Charles a list of “considerations for the better settling of the church government.” He proposed that the bishops should be commanded to reside in their several dioceses, *excepting*

* The particular picture destroyed by Mr. Sherfield appears to have been barbarous in taste and offensive in other respects. The subject was the Creation. The poor recorder said in defence, “That the true history of the Creation was not contained in that window, but a false and impious one.”

† Cyprianus Anglicus.

those which were in attendance at court, that a special charge should be given them against frequent and unworthy ordinations, and that especial care should be had over the lecturers, which, by reason of their pay, were the people's creatures, and blew the coals of their sedition. "For the abating of whose power," continues Laud, "these ways may be taken:—That the afternoon sermons in all parishes be turned into catechising; that every lecturer do read divine service according to the Liturgy, printed by authority, in his surplice and hood, if in church or chapel, and if in a market town, then in a gown, and not in a cloak; that the bishop should suffer none under noblemen and men qualified by law to keep any private chaplain in their houses; that his majesty should prefer to bishoprics none but men of *courage, gravity, and experience in government*; that Emanuel and Sydney Colleges, in Cambridge, 'which are the nurseries of Puritanism,' be from time to time provided with grave and orthodox men for their governors; that more encouragement should be given to the High Commission Court; that some course should be taken to prevent the judges from sending so many prohibitions," &c. &c.* Charles regulated his conduct according to these suggestions, and shortly after he issued his "regal instructions," which differed very slightly from the considerations presented by Laud, and included all the clauses except those relating to the Cambridge colleges and the High Commission Court, which it was neither necessary nor expedient to mention in public. Laud, upon the appearance of these instructions or injunctions, which were of his own devising and composition, summoned all the ministers and lecturers within the city and suburbs of London, and, making a solemn speech, pressed them all to be obedient to his majesty's orders, as being full of religion and justice, and advantageous to the church and commonwealth, although they were mistaken by some hasty and incompetent persons.† But, at the same time, Laud projected several

* Rushworth.

† Rushworth.—Just at this time Mr. Bernard, lecturer at

things which were good and laudable in themselves, without being opposed to the national liberties. Such were the buildings at St. John's College, Oxford, wherein he had been bred; the setting up a Greek press in London;* the appointment of a professor of Arabic at Oxford; the foundation of an hospital at Reading; all of which works were perfected in his lifetime. He had proposed to find a way to increase the stipends of poor vicars, but this remained an intention.

Maintaining the closest correspondence with Viscount Wentworth, now (1632) not merely President of the North, but also Lord Deputy of Ireland, Laud endeavoured to surround the king with persons devoted to his own views and interests. On the 15th of June, 1632, Francis Windebank, his old friend, whose daughter he had married to his chaplain, was sworn secretary of state; and in the month of July another old and sturdy friend, Dr. Juxon, then Dean of Worcester, at his suit, was sworn clerk of his majesty's closet. "So that Windebank having the king's ear on one side, and the clerk of the closet on the other, he might presume to have his tale well told between them, and that his majesty should not easily be possessed with anything to his

St. Sepulchre's church, London, said, in his prayer before sermon,—“Lord open the eyes of the queen's majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry.” For these words he was questioned in the High Commission Court, which declared the same to be scandalous and unadvised, and not to be repeated. The zealous preacher, however, escaped any severe punishment by making a very humble submission.—*Id.*

* The whole or part of the Greek type was, however, obtained in an arbitrary manner truly characteristic of Laud. The king's printers, in an edition of the Bible, had committed the very awkward mistake of omitting the word *not* in the Seventh Commandment. The bishop called in the impression, and called up the poor printers to the High Commission Court, which sentenced them to pay an exorbitant fine, with part of which Laud provided the Greek type for printing ancient manuscripts, &c.

disadvantage.”* If Laud had taken all to himself in the business of the church while only bishop of London, he became far more absolute on his promotion to the primacy. He commanded like a pope of the fourteenth century. The communion-table, which, according to Clarendon, had not been safe “from the approaches of dogs,” was, by an order of council, directed to be removed in all cases from the centre to the east end of the church, to be railed in and called by its old Roman name of altar. Against disobedient priests, nay, even against neglectful churchwardens, were hurled the thunders of excommunication. Not merely painted glass began to reappear in the windows, but pictures in the body of the churches and over the altars. Laud was inexorable on the subject of surplices and lawn sleeves. Everywhere great pains were taken to give pomp and magnificence to the national worship, and a dignified or imposing appearance to the persons of the officiating ministers. At the present day there can scarcely be a difference of opinion as to the savage severity with which Laud enforced these changes; but still many may doubt whether the popular religion would not have been benefited in some respects by their introduction.

The more religious part of the Protestant community, however—the classes branded with the general name of Puritans—regarded the attempt with horror, and considered it as nothing less than an engine to batter down the pure worship, and destroy the pure worshippers of God.† They had delighted especially in evening lectures and extemporary prayers of wondrous length, wherein they were often carried away by their fervour to utter things displeasing to the court; Laud, by a stroke of his pen, suppressed the evening meetings and the extemporary praying. In the beginning of the month of October, 1633, there were complaints made to the council concerning church-ales and revels upon the Lord’s day in Somersetshire. The Lord Chief Justice

* Heylin.

† Mrs. Hutchinson’s Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

Richardson and Baron Denham, being on the circuit in that county, thought it incumbent on them to issue an order similar to divers others that had been made heretofore by the judges of assize, for the suppressing of these noisy sports. As soon as intelligence of this proceeding reached the ears of Laud, he complained of it to the king as an insolent invasion of his province; and the chief justice was commanded to attend the council, where he was not only made to revoke his order, but also received "such a rattle, that he came out blubbering and complaining that he had been almost choked with a pair of lawn sleeves." * The justices of peace being much troubled at the revocation of the order, drew up a petition to the king, showing the great mischiefs that would befall the country if the sabbath were not better kept, and if these meetings at church-ales, bid-ales, and clerk-ales, condemned by the laws, should now be set up again. The petition was subscribed by Lord Poulet, Sir William Portman, Sir Ralph Hopeton, and many other gentlemen of rank and fortune; but before they could deliver it to the king, a declaration came forth concerning "lawful sports to be used of Sundays," which was little more than a republication of King James's 'Book of Sports,' which, after a time, had been disregarded and cast aside. After giving the whole of that document, Charles, or Laud, added, that his present majesty "ratified and published this his blessed father's declaration; the rather because of late, in some counties, under pretence of taking away of abuses, there had been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called wakes. "Now," continued this *renvoi*, "his majesty's express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed. And his majesty further commands all justices of assize in their several circuits to see, that no man do trouble or molest any of his loyal and dutiful people in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to

* Heylin.

his majesty's laws. And doth further will, that publication of this his command be made by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their several dioceses respectively."* The bishops, it should appear, were obedient enough; but many ministers, very conformable to the church in other respects, refused to read this order in their churches; for which some were suspended, some silenced from preaching and otherwise persecuted. This made men to look again beyond the Atlantic for some place where they might be free from the "haughty prelate's rage." At the same time, Laud stretched his hands to Scotland and Ireland, making a sad turmoil in both countries; and Charles continued to issue proclamations without number, and on an infinite variety of subjects, from fixing the religion that people were to profess, down to fixing the price of poultry—from a prohibition of heresy to a prohibition of the abuses growing out of the retailing of tobacco. The power of Archbishop Laud kept daily on the increase, and certainly the proud churchman neglected none of the arts of a courtier, or those adroit compliances which smooth his ascent. He had, however, now and then to sustain a check from the queen, whose influence over Charles seemed to grow with years and troubles, and with his now cherished plan of governing like a king—like a very king of France—without intermeddling and impertinent parliaments. Henrietta Maria's temper was almost as difficult to manage as a sturdy Puritan's conscience; at times she conceived plans connected with her religion, and exacted services which startled even the boldness of the primate. But soon after Laud was put into the Commission, or as he calls it, the Great Committee, of Trade and the king's revenue. On March the 14th of the following year he was named chief of the Board of Commissioners of the Exchequer, appointed upon the death of Lord Weston (recently created Earl of Portland), the Lord High Treasurer. After presiding over the board for about a year, he induced the king to make his friend Juxon,

* Rushworth.

Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer; in doing which, he did not "want some seasonable consideration for the good of the church." * His biographer says that Bishop Juxon was a most upright man, yet it was generally conceived that the archbishop, in making this appointment, neither consulted his present ease—for which he should have procured the treasurer's white staff for Cottington, who had long been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who looked to the staff almost as his due†—nor his future security; for which he ought to have advised the delivery of the staff to some popular nobleman, such as the Earl of Bedford, Hertford, or Essex, or Lord Say.‡ It is quite certain that several great noblemen, who had borne rather patiently with Laud's tyranny in church and state, became very patriotic after the disposal of this high and lucrative office; and it is almost equally certain that Juxon was an honest man than most of his predecessors. It is difficult to conceive a learned body carrying baseness and adulation farther than was practised at this time by the University of Oxford, the proceedings of which, in Puritan notions, verged on idolatry and blasphemy. They gave Laud the title of Holiness, which the Papists bestowed on the pope, and they applied to him the other title attached to the tiara of "Summus Pontifex." They told him in their Latin epistles, that he was "Spiritu Sancto effusissime plenus," "Archangelus, et ne quid minus," &c.§

* Heylin. "No churchman," says Laud himself, "had it since the time of Henry VII. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the church may have honour, and the king and the state service and contentment by it."—*Diary*.

† In his *Diary* Laud marks the months of May, June, and July (1635) as being stormy or troublesome months on account of the commission for the Treasury, "and the differences which happened between Lord Cottington and himself." And upon Sunday, the 12th of July, he notes that his old friend Sir F. W. (Francis Windebank), forsook him, and joined with the Lord Cottington, which put him to the exercise of a great deal of patience, &c.

‡ Heylin.

§ Troubles and Trials.

And even when this vision of vain-glory was departing from him, Laud maintained that these expressions, so offensive to Protestant ears, so inapplicable to frail humanity, were proper and commendable, *because* they had been applied to the popes and fathers of the Roman church. Not satisfied with coercing men's consciences in England, Scotland, and Ireland, he was determined to establish an uniformity of worship, including all his innovations, wherever there was an English colony or factory—wherever a few subjects of the three kingdoms were gathered together for the purpose of commerce, or even for the military service of foreign states. In 1622, when his power and influence were in their infancy, he offered to the lords of the council certain considerations for the better and more orthodox regulation of public worship amongst the English factories and regiments beyond sea. He never forgot or neglected a scheme of this kind, and as soon as he attained to the primacy he procured an order in council for the observance of the Anglican liturgy by the factories in Holland and the troops serving in that country, and a chaplain of his own choice was sent to the factory at Delf to establish this orthodoxy, and to report the names of all such as should prove refractory. What made the case the harder was, the fact that nearly all the soldiers and most of the merchants were Scotch or English Puritans, who had abandoned their own country for the sake of liberty of conscience. “The like course was prescribed for our factories in Hamburg and those further off, that is to say, in Turkey, in the Mogul's dominions, the Indian islands, the plantations in Virginia, the Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade. The like was done also for regulating the divine service in the families of all ambassadors abroad.”* In his paper, presented to the council in 1622, Laud had also proposed reducing the French and Dutch churches in London to conformity; and now, having vexed the Scotch and English who had fled abroad

* Heylin.

for religion, he proceeded to harass the Dutch and the French who had fled to England for the same cause. The French were all Huguenots, or extreme Calvinists, and as such hateful in the eyes of this Summus Pontifex. Without condescending to ask the concurrence of his master, he addressed to the French church in Canterbury, and to the Dutch churches in Sandwich and Maidstone, the three following questions:—1. Whether they did not use the French or Dutch Liturgy? 2. Of how many descents they were for the most part born subjects of England? 3. Whether such as were born subjects would conform to the church of England? These foreign congregations in Kent declined answering these interrogatories, and pleaded the national hospitality which had been extended to them when they fled from papal persecution, and the privileges and exemptions which had been granted to them by Edward VI., and which had been confirmed not only by Elizabeth and James, but also by Charles himself. Laud, who cared little for these solemn pledges given to industrious and ingenious classes of men, who, in some respects, had essentially improved the country which they had chosen for their home, issued an order as absolute as a pope's bull, that such as were natives should regularly attend their parish churches, and (a condition as weighty as their conformity) contribute in money to the support of the Anglican clergy; and that such as were aliens should use the English Liturgy in their own places of worship, faithfully translated into their own language. The Protestant refugees were troubled and dismayed as if a new Duke of Alva was thundering at their doors: they sought a respite by addressing an humble petition to the primate. Laud answered it in the very tone of a Hildebrand of the old time. And finally he told them, that he had the power and the right of enforcing obedience, and that they must conform at their peril by the time appointed. Hereupon the refugees presented a petition to the king, who left it without any answer. Soubise, who, like many others of the French Protestants, had been precipitated into ruin by the mad expedition ordered by Charles and con-

ducted by Buckingham, was now in England, and he took charge of a second petition, and pleaded to his majesty of England the danger of fresh persecutions of the Protestants in France, if it should be seen that their brethren were discountenanced and oppressed in the country of their choice.* The reasonings of this nobleman made a deep impression, but all that Charles would grant was, that those who were born aliens might still enjoy the use of their own church service. But even this concession was limited to the province of Canterbury: in the province of York, where the foreign congregations were weaker in numbers, money, and friends, Laud's original injunctions were imposed. In consequence of this persecution some thousands of industrious families quitted the kingdom.

Laud, primate and first peer of England, seems to have imagined that there could be no limits to his authority. He was already chancellor of Oxford, and now he would visit both universities by his metropolitan right, and not by commission from the king, as had been customary. It appears to have been proved that no archbishop of Canterbury, since the beginning of the fifteenth century, had ever visited either university *jure metropolitano*. But after much talk Laud had his will, and, "plumed thus in his own feathers, all black and white, without one borrowed from Cæsar, he soared higher than ever."

The intriguing Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and ex-lord keeper, was not only still alive, but a sort of favourite with the people on account of his unquestionable talent, eloquence, and address, his munificence, his hospitality, and his harsh treatment by the court, which had induced him, like many others, to lean to the side of

* Charles was also told that Cardinal Richelieu had said, that if a king of England, who was a Protestant, would not permit two church disciplines in his kingdom, it could not be expected that the King of France, who was a Catholic, would allow of two religions in his kingdom. From the beginning to the end of the chapter Protestant intolerance was the best whet-stone for the sharpening of Roman persecution.

the patriots. At the instigation of his lord and master, Buckingham, this prelate had helped Laud over the first difficult steps of church promotion, and Laud had assured him that his life would be too short to requite his lordship's goodness. But when Laud rose, and Williams declined, the former hated the latter as the only churchman and statesman that was likely to check his absolute dominion. The intensity of this feeling on the part of Laud was a tribute to or acknowledgment of the abilities and *savoir faire* of Williams. He dragged the ex-lord keeper into the Star Chamber,* for, in addition to his former ground of enmity, Williams had published a tract entitled, 'The Holy Table,' in which he lashed with much wit and some learning Laud's love for high altars, &c., and he had, moreover, refused to surrender his deanery of Westminster, which the primate would at one moment have accepted as a peace offering, *because*, lacking the deanery, Williams would have had no pretexts for his frequent visits to London, and the primate, by a high exercise of his authority, could have kept him to his diocese among the Fens of Lincolnshire, far away from court and the resort of public men and politicians. "Would he have quitted his deanery, perhaps he might have been quiet;"† but Williams had lost his old pliability, and his indignation against Laud made him bold. After a series of iniquitous and arbitrary proceedings on the part of Laud, his servant Windebank, and his master Charles, who threw witnesses into prison to make them swear what they wanted, browbeat the judges, and removed Chief Justice Heath, putting in his place one

* Before star-chambering Williams, Laud indirectly got a bill filed against him for betraying the king's counsels, but the charge was so frivolous, that it was thrown out by the privy council. At this juncture, Williams made an humble submission, and presented a petition to the king, who promised that this accusation should be quashed; but Charles afterwards permitted it to be made one of the charges against him in the Star Chamber processes.—*Life of Williams.*

† Letter from Garrard to Wentworth, in Strafford Papers.

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“who was more forward to undo Lincoln than ever the Lord Heath was to preserve him;” a compromise was effected, chiefly by the means of Lord Cottington. The business was made the easier by the king’s great want of money. Cottington, as the result of his negotiations to save the ex-lord keeper from entire ruin, told Williams that he must part with 4000*l.*, with his deanery, and two commendams. Williams did not object to the money, but he stickled about the preferments. Cottington returned to court, and then to the disgraced bishop with new terms, that is, that he should pay another 4000*l.* in lieu of surrendering the deanery and the commendams. The bishop held up his hands in amazement at it. “But you will lift your hands at a greater wonder,” said Lord Cottington, “if you do not pay it;” and he consented to “satisfy the king.” The money was paid wholly or in part, and in return a royal pardon was proffered to Williams, who hesitated at accepting it, because it contained a statement of offences of which he held himself to be entirely innocent. Taking advantage of this circumstance, Laud worked afresh upon the king, who, without restoring the money he had received for a free and full pardon, allowed of a new prosecution in the Star Chamber. Williams was there charged with tampering with witnesses in order to procure evidence favourable to his cause.* (The court and the archbishop had not merely tampered with witnesses to elicit evidence *unfavourable* to the accused, but had also imprisoned witnesses, threatened them with ruin, and menaced the judges;† and there was not a scoundrel sitting in the Star Chamber but must have known these notorious facts.) On the ninth day of the proceedings, Cottington, who had forsaken Williams probably from a fear of consequences, stood up and said, that the bishop had sought and wrought his

* During the iniquitous process other charges were introduced.

† When Williams asked Lord Finch, one of his judges, why he had so used an old acquaintance, Finch replied, “he had been soundly chidden by his majesty, and would not destroy himself for any man’s sake.”

own overthrow ; and then, proceeding to sentence, Cottington proposed that Powel should be fined 200*l.*, and Walker, Catlin, and Lunn, other servants or agents of the bishop, 300*l.* a-piece. "And," said this gentle friend in conclusion, "for my Lord Bishop of Lincoln, I fine him at 10,000*l.* to the king, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during his majesty's pleasure, and to be suspended from all his ecclesiastical functions, both *ab officio et beneficio* ; and I refer him over to the High Commission Court to censure him as they think fit."* After Finch, Sir John Bamston, Secretary Windebank, Sir Thomas Germaine, the Lord Treasurer (Bishop Juxon), and the three noble Earls of Lindsey, Arundel, and Manchester, had spoken in the same sense, most of them paying a compliment to Williams's abilities, learning, and high rank in church and state, but not one of them recommending any diminution of his punishment, the triumphant Laud stood up and delivered a speech, which has justly been characterised as one of the most detestable monuments of malice and hypocrisy extant.† He openly declared that the new offence was Williams's *not submitting in silence to the accusations laid against him*. When St. Cecilia was charged unjustly with many things, and all the stream and current was quite against her, she called no one to prove her innocence, but used the saying of holy Job, *testis meus est in cœlis*, my witness is in heaven,—and so, said Laud, ought the Bishop of Lincoln to have done.‡

He assured the Star Chamber that many ill-disposed persons had boldly given out that Williams had not committed any fault whatever, "only that he was rich, and must be let blood, and the king wanted 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.*" "But," continued Laud, "howsoever these

* Rushworth.

† Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of King Charles I.*

‡ Rushworth. Laud said that "for his majesty he was very inclinable to have had a fair reconciliation, as might appear by his often asking *what Lincoln did ; doth he seek to repair my credit ? hath he any show of sorrowfulness for his fault ?*"

reports go, the king is just as he is honourable." He concluded his very long speech by saying that he should, therefore, agree with my Lord Cottington, and the rest that went before him, for the fine of 10,000*l.* to his majesty, for the imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, for the suspension from the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions, and for turning Williams over to be proceeded against in the High Commission Court.*

The Bishop of Lincoln, who had revelled in the good things of the church, who had been a whole diocese in himself, was forthwith shut up in the dismal state-prison, and the agents of government, amongst whom, by special appointment, was a furious enemy, were let loose to fell his timber, to kill his deer, to consume his stores, and to sell his moveable property for payment of his enormous fine. But this was not revenge enough for the large stomach of Archbishop Laud, who wanted to change suspension into deprivation, imprisonment into deportation. Soon after, Laud got possession of some private letters from Osbaldeston, the learned master of Westminster school, which letters were addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, and contained much scurrilous abuse of the "little urchin," the "vermin and meddling hocus-pocus"—terms which Laud maintained could apply only to himself. Upon the evidence of these letters, or rather of the archbishop's interpretation of the offensive passages, the Star Chamber sentenced Osbaldeston to deprivation and branding, and to stand in the pillory with his ears nailed to it in front of his own school; but the poor schoolmaster was fortunate enough to escape the search of the officers, and he left a note to say that he was "gone beyond Canterbury." All the wrath of the primate fell, therefore, upon Williams, who was condemned to pay a further fine of 8000*l.*

The licensing of all new books was in the power of Laud. There was nothing new in this; Milton had not yet written his glorious argument in defence of unlicensed printing; the liberty of the press, which was not esta-

* Rushworth.

blished in reality till long after, had scarcely entered as an idea into the head of any one; and the Archbishops of Canterbury had long been considered censors by right of their spiritual dignity and office. But what was really new was Laud's method of exercising this function. Hitherto many works, not strictly in accordance with the views of the high-church party and of the court, had been permitted by indolence or indifference or connivance to go abroad into the world. Now, on the contrary, such strictness was used, that nothing could pass the press without the approbation of Laud, or of his substitutes and dependents. The printers, finding that their business was almost destroyed by the tediousness, uncertainty, and severity of this censorship, bethought themselves of employing their type in reprinting old books of divinity, and works already licensed by former archbishops. But Laud would allow of neither new nor old without his *imprimatur*, and against some of these old books he had a particular spite; and he procured from the Star Chamber, which was now set above all law and all reason too, a decree, of the most sweeping and tyrannical kind, which went to hinder the printing at home, and the importing from abroad, any manner of book that did not please him.* There was one particular book which had gone through various editions, and which all zealous Protestants loved, and perhaps esteemed next to their Bible; it was the 'Acts and Monuments,' more commonly called the 'Book of Martyrs,' of the Puritan Fox. This book was unsavoury to Laud on many accounts, and forthwith he struck it with his fiat that it should be printed no more. At the same time he refused new licences to Bishop Jewel's works, and to other books formerly printed by authority.† Divinity and law had suffered the most degrading punishments and the mutilation of the hangman's scissors, in the persons of Leighton and Prynne, and now, while one of those sufferers was to pass through fresh tortures, the other faculty was to be struck in the person of Bastwick,

* Rushworth.

† Among these was the 'Practice of Piety,' a work which had gone through thirty-six editions.

a physician. In Trinity Term, 1637, this Dr. Bastwick, together with Prynne, still a prisoner in the Tower, and Henry Burton, a bachelor in divinity, were prosecuted in the Star Chamber for writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books against the hierarchy of the church, and to the scandal of the government. The details we have given of preceding cases will have sufficiently explained the course of Star Chamber proceedings. We may therefore pass at once to the sentence, which was—"That each of the defendants should be fined 5000*l.*; that Bastwick and Burton should stand in the pillory at Westminster, and there lose their ears; and that Prynne, having lost his ears before by sentence of this court, should have the remainder of his ears cut off, and should be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L., to signify a seditious libeller." These execrable barbarities were all publicly performed on the 20th of June, the hangman rather sawing than cutting off the remainder of Prynne's ears; and then they were sent to solitary confinement in the castles of Launceston (in Cornwall), Lancaster, and Carnarvon.* The king was told that not less than 100,000 persons had gathered together to see Burton, the minister, pass by, and that much money had been thrown to his wife, who followed him in a coach: but Charles would not be warned. As Prynne went through Chester, on his way to Carnarvon Castle, one of the sheriffs with several other gentlemen met him, and conducted him to a good dinner, defrayed his expenses, and gave him some coarse hangings or tapestry to furnish his dungeon at Carnarvon. Money and other presents were offered, but refused by Prynne. Laud forthwith despatched a pursuivant to bring the sympathising sheriff

* "The main scope of their libels," said Laud in the Star Chamber, "was to kindle a jealousy in men's minds, that there are some great plots in hand; dangerous plots (so says Mr. Burton expressly) to change the Orthodox Religion established in England, and to bring in I know not what Romish superstition in the room of it: as if the external decent worship of God could not be upheld in this kingdom, without bringing in of Popery."—*Rushworth*.

to London.* The three captives were afterwards removed out of the way of their friends to the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly; "the wives of Bastwick and Burton not being allowed, after many petitions, to have access unto them, nor to set foot in the island; neither was any friend permitted to have access to Mr. Prynne."†

A.D. 1638.—About six months after the punishments above described, John Lilburne and John Warton were *Star-Chambered* (the practice had become so prevalent that people had made a verb for it) for the unlawful printing and publishing of libellous and seditious books, entitled 'News from Ipswich,' &c. The prisoners both refused to take an oath to answer the interrogatories of the court, Lilburne saying that no free-born Englishman ought to take it, not being bound by the laws of his country to accuse himself.‡ Upon the 9th of February the Star Chamber ordered that, as the two delinquents had contemptuously refused to take the oaths tendered to them, they should be remanded to the Fleet prison, there to remain close prisoners, and to be examined; and that, unless they yielded to take the said oaths, they should be proceeded against for contempt on the Monday following. Upon the 13th of February they were again brought to the bar of the Star Chamber, and still continuing in their former obstinacy, their lordships adjudged and decreed that Lilburne and Warton should be sent back to the Fleet, there to remain until they conformed themselves,—that they should pay 500*l.* a-piece as fines, for his majesty's use,—and, before their enlargement, find good sureties for their good behaviour. "And," continued the sentence, "to the end that others may be the more deterred from daring to offend in the like kind hereafter, the court hath further ordered and decreed that the said John Lilburne shall be whipt through the streets from the prison of the Fleet unto the pillory, to be erected at

* Strafford Letters.

† Rushworth.

‡ In consequence of this speech, John Lilburne was ever afterwards called "Free-born John."

such time and in such place as this court shall hold fit ; and that both he and Warton shall be set in the said pillory, and from thence returned to the Fleet.”* To make the whipping the longer, and to have the punishment performed near to the court which had decreed it, the pillory was placed between Westminster Hall gate and the Star Chamber ; and to that point Lilburne was smartly whipped all the way from his prison. But this enthusiast had a spirit which was not to be subdued by the scourging of his body. “ Whilst he was whipt at the cart, and stood in the pillory, he uttered many bold speeches against tyranny of bishops, &c. ; and, when his head was in the hole of the pillory, he scattered sundry copies of pamphlets (said to be seditious), and tossed them among the people, taking them out of his pocket ; whereupon the Court of Star Chamber, then sitting, being informed, immediately ordered Lilburne to be gagged during the residue of the time he was to stand in the pillory, which was done accordingly ; and, when he could not speak, he stamped with his feet, thereby intimating to the beholders he would still speak were his mouth at liberty.”† The

* Rushworth.

† No doubt Laud had the gags ready ; for Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, while suffering their punishment, had addressed the people, “ who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropt.” In writing to the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, the Primate says,—“ What say you to it, that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the city ; and that, when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else. . . . You observe most rightly that these men do but begin with the church, that they might after have the freer access to the state ; and I would to God other men were of your lordship’s opinion, or, if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal, for timely prevention ; but, for that, we are all too secure, and will not believe there is any foul weather toward us till the storm break upon us.”—*Strafford Letters*.

Star Chamber, moreover, ordered that Lilburne "should be laid alone, with irons on his hands and legs, in the ward of the Fleet, where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners are used to be put;" and that the warden should prevent his getting any books, letters, or writings, or his seeing any of his friends; taking care at the same time to note who the persons were that attempted to visit him, and report their names to the board.—We shall soon meet John Lilburne again.

While these transactions were spreading horror and disgust through England and Scotland, fresh religious alarms were excited by a mysterious negotiation with the court of Rome, and the arrival of Gregorio Panzani, an envoy from the Vatican, who was courteously received by Charles and his queen, by Lord Cottington (a Catholic in disguise), and by Secretary Windebank. Panzani had frequent interviews with Montague and some others of the bishops; but Laud cautiously kept away from these conferences, which are said to have turned almost entirely on the possibility of re-uniting the Anglican and Roman churches. The Italian had a very limited commission, and, as an acute and observing man, it was not difficult for him to perceive the insuperable obstacles which existed in the resolute opinions of the English people. He soon returned to Rome; but two accredited agents to the queen, Rosetti, an Italian priest, and Con, a Scotch priest, arrived, and were entertained at London. At the same time Henrietta Maria sent an agent of her own to reside at Rome. And though proselytism, which the queen ever had much at heart, made no progress among the people, it was otherwise with the court gentry, among whom several sudden conversions were witnessed and paraded. Not only were the old penal laws allowed to sleep, but fresh favours and indulgences were daily shown to the Catholics,—not out of toleration, for that blessed spirit would have prevented Charles from persecuting the Protestant sectarians, but as a tribute paid to the still increasing influence of the queen, and to the slavish devotion to the crown professed by the members of the old church, who, however, may be

forgiven by liberal minds for preferring a despotism with some religious freedom to an alliance with the Protestant patriots, who would allow them neither this blessing, nor a share, as English citizens, in the great boon of civil liberty.

By this time Laud had accumulated upon himself a burden of hate heavy enough to crush any man ; but his bosom friend Wentworth is not much behind-hand with him, having been as tyrannical in state matters as Laud had been in ecclesiastical. From the moment of his apostacy his rise, or, as it has been rather happily called, his "violent advancement," was most rapid. President of the North, a privy councillor, baron, and viscount,— "the Duke of Buckingham himself flew not so high in so short a revolution of time." But if his promotion was rapid, his devotion to the principle of despotism, his activity, his boldness, and, for a time, his success in serving the government as Charles wished to be served, were all extreme. There was no post in England which offered so large a field for tyranny and lawlessness as that of the presidency of the Council of the North ; and there never was a man put in it so apt to take the full range of the power it conferred as Thomas Wentworth. The Council of the North, an offspring of blood and tyranny, was first erected by Henry VIII. after the suppression of the great insurrection of the northern provinces, known by the name of the Pilgrimage of Grace. This council had a criminal jurisdiction over all Yorkshire and the four more northern counties, in cases of conspiracies, riots, and acts of violence. It had also, in its origin, a jurisdiction in civil suits, or at least the faculty of deciding causes, when either of the parties litigating was too poor to bear the expenses of a process at common law. But, as far back as the time of Elizabeth, the judges had held this latter authority to be illegal. Indeed the lawfulness of the whole tribunal, which was regulated at the arbitrary will of the court, expressed in instructions under the great seal, had always been very doubtful ; and, unless it was pretended to exclude that important part of England from the benefits of

that great national act, it had become more problematical than ever since the passing of the Petition of Right. But, heedless of these considerations, Wentworth immediately began to enlarge the jurisdiction of his court; and he was seconded by the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the privy council. It has been fairly observed that the soliciting or procuring such inordinate powers as these, and that, too, by a person so well versed in the laws and constitution of his country, was of itself ground sufficient for an impeachment. But Wentworth not only obtained these powers, but abused them when he had got them, to gratify his own pride and lust for domineering, or to strike terror into the hearts of the party he had abandoned, and of all who sought to oppose arbitrary measures. He ruled like a king, and like a despotic king, uncontrolled by parliaments or laws, and his name became a word of terror through all the north. Several of his prosecutions of gentlemen of rank and influence were personally vindictive, and carried on with a most rancorous spirit. In 1633, without resigning the presidency of the North, he obtained the still more important and unchecked post of Lord Deputy of Ireland. Dublin was as much better a field for such a man than York, as York was better than London. The ordinary course of affairs in Ireland was in the main lawless and absolute. Even in times when the sovereign professed more reverence for the laws and constitution, the Irish people were treated by the lord deputies in much the same fashion in which the rayah subjects of the Turkish empire were treated by the pashas. It was in Ireland chiefly that Wentworth raised himself to that bad eminence which is now as everlasting as our annals and language: and yet, in spite of all his dark deeds, his government was for a time in some respects advantageous to the country. Before his arrival there were hundreds of tyrants, but where Wentworth was there could be no tyrant save himself; his bold and grandiose despotism swallowed up all smaller despotisms. He put down at once the oppressions and malversations of his subordinates; and in

the offices of government and the whole administration of affairs, where there had been nothing but a chaotic confusion, he introduced and maintained something like order. He saw, however, from the beginning, that little or nothing could be done without calling together an Irish parliament; and, confident in his own powers of intriguing, imposing, and domineering, he ventured to recommend that measure to his master as one of expediency, and which, under his management and control, would be perfectly harmless. His arguments were put with great skill and force; but he encountered some difficulty in obtaining the consent of Charles, who now hated the very name of parliament. "As for that hydra," writes the king, "take good heed; for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid; and I assure you that I have a great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than is fit for me to give. This I would not say if I had not confidence in your courage and dexterity, that, in that case, you would set me down there an example what to do here."*

Wentworth omitted no arts, no cajolery, promises, or

* *Strafford Letters*. Of the arguments used by Wentworth to persuade the king to permit the calling of the Irish parliament, that which had the most weight with the king was, that if the parliament, when called, did not vote its money freely, and behave submissively in all things, it could be summarily dissolved, and then its misconduct would be a good cover to whatever arbitrary proceedings Charles might please to institute. Or, in Wentworth's own words, "then their unthankfulness to God and the best of kings becomes inexcusable before all the world, and the regal power more warrantably to be thereafter extended for redeeming and recovering your majesty's revenues thus lost, and justly to punish so great a forfeit as this must needs be judged to be in them."—*Id.* It will be understood that both the king and the lord deputy wanted nothing of parliament but its money.

threats, to prepare beforehand for a submissive assembly. He told some of the leading men that it was absolutely in their power to have the happiest parliament that ever was in that kingdom; that nothing was wanting thereunto but their putting an absolute trust in the king, without offering any condition or restraint at all upon his royal will. The bronze-faced renegade, who had himself made the loudest thunder that had been heard in the English House of Commons, bade them take warning by the fate of *that* House, and be wise by others' harms. They were not ignorant, he said, of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years, and therefore they were not to strike their foot upon the same stone of distrust.* Even his admiring friend, Archbishop Laud, appears to have blushed at this daring piece of effrontery. Wentworth, however, obtained his object in a promise that no bills should be introduced but such as were agreeable to him; and he then opened the parliament with royal pomp, delivered a speech which might have served Milton as a model for the harangue of the proud Lucifer himself, and forthwith demanded and obtained the extraordinary grant of six subsidies. When the second session came, in which the parliament were to debate upon the grievances of the country, they were cut short *ab initio*, taunted, reviled, menaced, by the man who had made them solemn promises in the king's name, *and by the king's express orders*, but who, by his commanding person and manners, and overwhelming eloquence, made them appear like criminals before an inflexible and upright judge, and hold their timid tongues. He was not backward in claiming his reward for these very acceptable services; he wanted to change his viscountship for an earldom, and applied to his master, "not only primarily but solely, without so much as acquainting any body with it." Charles acknowledged "that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambition;" but he would not give him what he asked for; and the reason for his refusing is as clear as it is

* *Id.*

characteristic of the king : he wished his lord deputy to bear the whole odium of deceiving and tyrannizing over the parliament ; and, therefore, he abstained from hastening to honour his true and accepted servant. If Wentworth's mad ambition, and his enjoyment in the present possession of arbitrary power, had permitted him to reflect upon these things and upon the mind of his master, as partially disclosed in his letters,* he must inevitably have foreseen his own fate ; but he went on as he had begun, sharpening the axe for his own neck, whenever it should suit Charles to deliver him up as a sacrifice.

Charles and his lieutenant, not satisfied with refusing any more grants of the crown lands in Ireland, suddenly laid claim to all the lands in the province of Connaught. It was maintained that this great province had fallen to the crown through the forfeiture of an Irish rebel, as far back as the reign of Edward IV. Since that time it had been granted out in parcels by patents, which the occupants and the courts of law also long considered to be good titles in all respects. James had listened to the tempting arguments of his crown lawyers, who undertook to demonstrate that the said patents were worth nothing, and that all Connaught was his ; but he had not ventured upon the experiment of actually seizing it. Nor was it the design of his son to take absolute possession of all the province ; it was rather to frighten men out of their money, by making them believe that they held their property by an insecure tenure. The men of Connaught were told that they must produce their titles, and surrender them, when proved defective, to the king's majesty, who, upon such terms as he might choose, would grant them valid titles to their property. The lord deputy, who had told Charles that he had made him as absolute a king in Ireland as any prince in the whole world could

* In the very letter in which Charles refuses to gratify Wentworth with the earldom, he says : " I must tell you, that your last public despatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for keeping of the envy of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable graces that that people expected from me."—*Strafford Papers*.

be,* proceeded, at the head of a commission, to hold an inquisition in each county of Connaught. Beginning at Roscommon, he summoned a jury composed of "gentlemen of the best estates and understandings." These gentlemen were instructed beforehand, that it would be best for their own interests to return such a verdict as his majesty desired, since he was able to establish his right without their consent, and wished only to settle the cause on a proper basis, intending graciously to reinvest them legally with what they now held unlawfully. These threats and the artful and imposing eloquence of Wentworth, prevailed in the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, and Mayo; but in county Galway, which was almost entirely occupied by Irish and Catholics, a jury stood out manfully against the crown, and, as Wentworth expressed it, "most obstinately and perversely refused to find for his majesty." The lord deputy, who had not threatened without a resolution to execute his threats, forthwith levied a fine of 1000*l.* on the sheriff, for returning so improper a jury, and he dragged all the jurymen into the Castle Chamber, which was *his* Star Chamber, where they were condemned in fines of 4000*l.* a-piece. He then endeavoured to bring about the destruction of the Earl of Clanrickard and of other great proprietors of the county; to seize the Fort of Galway; to march a good body of troops into the county, and take possession of the estates of all such as were not ready to comply with the king's will.† Some of these suggestions, and the mode proposed for carrying them into execution, were detestable; but Charles hastened to express his cordial approbation of them. The Galway proprietors, who were certainly not aware of this fact, for they had been by Charles's management induced to believe that the harshness proceeded, not from him, but from the malice and tyranny of his lieutenant, sent over agents to represent

* Strafford Letters.

† As the Galway lawyers had incensed him by their courageous pleadings, he also proposed that they should be called upon to take the oath of supremacy, or abandon their profession.

their case to his majesty. Charles received them at Royston, and met their complaints with reproaches, telling them how undutiful they had been ; and, in the end, he sent them back to Ireland as state prisoners. Old Clanrickard, whose virtuous and high-minded son had headed the deputation, died a few weeks after these tyrannical proceedings. "It is reported," says Wentworth, in a letter to his master, "that my harsh usage broke his heart: they might as well have imputed unto me for a crime his being threescore and ten years old." Lord Mountnorris, vice-treasurer of Ireland, after enjoying for a brief space the friendship of Wentworth, incurred his high displeasure, which blighted every object upon which it chanced to fall. The vice-treasurer was accused of extortion and corruption ; but Wentworth and his creatures could not make good this charge. A gouty foot and some hasty words stood him in better stead. It chanced that a relation of Lord Mountnorris, in moving his stool, struck Wentworth's gouty member, and that the accident was spoken of at the table of Loftus, the chancellor. "*Perhaps*," said Mountnorris, "it was done in revenge ; but he has a brother who would not have taken such a revenge." For these hasty words, which were repeated by some spy, Mountnorris was proceeded against as a "delinquent in a *high and transcendent* manner against the person of his general and his majesty's authority." As he held a commission in the Irish army, it was resolved to try him by a court-martial, over which Wentworth presided as commander-in-chief. This court sentenced his lordship to be cashiered, to be publicly disarmed, and then to be shot. It was not the intention of the lord-deputy to take his victim's life in this manner ; he only wanted to grind him to the dust—to humiliate him by making it appear that he owed his life to his enemy. He recommended the prisoner to the royal mercy, and Charles remitted the capital part of the sentence. But Mountnorris was kept a close prisoner, separated from his wife and children, stripped of all his offices and emoluments, and treated in other respects with the greatest harshness. But the tale of infamy is not yet complete. Strafford wanted Mountnorris's place of vice-treasurer for

Sir Adam Loftus ; and, knowing that such patronage was generally sold, he placed 6000*l.* in the hand of his friend Lord Cottington, who was to distribute it in those quarters where it would prove the most effectual. "I fell upon the right way at once," said Cottington in return ; "which was, to give the money to him that really could do the business—*which was the king himself* ; and this hath so far prevailed, as, by this post, your lordship will receive his majesty's letter to that effect ; so as there you have your business done without noise."* Soon after this precious transaction, Wentworth came over to pay a visit to Court, where his master received him with open arms, but where the Earl of Holland and the queen's party were intriguing to bring about his overthrow. After visiting his presidency of the North, he returned to Dublin, to lengthen and darken the list of his iniquities. Wentworth, though long passed the heyday of youth, was a notorious libertine ; and one of the victims of his seduction was the daughter of Loftus, the lord chancellor of Ireland, the wife of Sir John Gifford. Sir John claimed from his father-in-law, the chancellor, a large settlement on his wife and her children. The chancellor refused. Thereupon Wentworth offered the dishonoured husband the resources of his Star Chamber, and the head of the law in Ireland was brought into the Castle Chamber at the suit of Gifford. That board decided against the chancellor, who challenged its authority, and maintained that the cause ought to be tried in the ordinary courts of law. As Wentworth was well aware of the existence of powerful enemies in court and country, as his connexion with the lady, the wife of the plaintiff, was no secret, it might have been expected that he would have been glad to let this delicate matter drop ; but any opposition to his arbitrary will blinded him to all considerations of danger or shame. He represented to his master that this was pernicious contumacy ; and Charles, who had a wonderful reverence for Star Chamber tribunals, sent him what he wished,—an order to take the seals from Loftus, to turn him out of the council, and to throw him into a prison until he should submit to the

* *Strafford Letters.*

award. The lord chancellor, who was a very old servant of the crown, appealed to Charles, but without any effect ; and, to regain his liberty, he complied with the award of the Castle Chamber, and made his submission to the man who had first seduced his daughter, and then sought to enrich her by forcing money from her parent. The outcry was now tremendous, but, loud as it was, Wentworth deafened the king's ear to it by constantly urging the licentiousness of the people's tongues and their proneness to censure all such as were by the will of God placed in authority over them. He made it a merit in the eyes of his master that he was so unpopular, which he said arose solely from his contending to establish and enforce his majesty's authority.

Wentworth proposed making a settlement on a grand scale in Connaught, where the lands, which had been seized for the crown, were to be occupied by a very obedient and thoroughly orthodox (in Laud's sense) set of English, if such could be found ; but there were several serious obstacles to this scheme, and before he could make much progress in it the civil war broke out in England. He, however, made a beginning to plantations in Ormond and Clare, and this Laud declared to be a marvellous great work for the honour and profit of the king, and safety of that kingdom. It appears, however, that Wentworth's tyranny, both in religious and civil matters, made the English and Scottish emigrants, who were all Dissenters, prefer the wilds of America to the pleasant banks of the Shannon.*

The Lord Deputy also began a crusade against the Presbyterians established in Ulster. It will be remembered that a very unsuccessful attempt had been made to colonize that great province in the time of Elizabeth. It is an anomaly, but quite certain, that James met with better success in the same enterprise. Soon after the flight of the great Earl of Tyrone, the brave O'Dogherty, the leader of the insurgents, was driven back to the bogs and mountains, where he was killed by a chance shot. His followers thereupon dispersed ; and nearly the whole of the country, or two millions of acres, was declared to

* *Strafford Letters.*

be the lawful prey of the crown. This enormous tract of land was separated into lots or portions, varying from 2000 to 1000 acres each. The larger lots were reserved for undertakers, or adventurers of capital from England and Scotland, and for the military and civil officers. The smaller lots were divided among these and the Catholic natives of the province. It was regulated that the Scotch and English colonists should occupy the hilly country and all the strong positions, and thus isolate and gird in the native Irish, who were to have their allotments in the plains; but this scheme was widely departed from in practice, as the settlers naturally preferred the fertile soil of the plains to the moors and morasses of the mountains. Several of the native chieftains were allowed to retain possession of the poor and hungry country, but some hundred thousand acres were planted by the new comers, who were chiefly Scotch, and who, not less by their prudence than their bravery, kept the province in a tranquil state. Now Wentworth, who was called by Laud a glorious champion of the church, and who was resolved to make all Ireland as conformable as England, fiercely interfered with the kirk of these spirited, industrious, and bigoted colonists, threw many of their elders into prison, and banished many of their ministers who would not conform to what they considered an idolatrous form of worship. These preachers returned to their parent hive in Scotland, whence there soon issued such a swarm as darkened the sun of the house of Stuart.

During the whole of this interval the apparently interminable business of the Palatinate had engaged such a portion of public attention as the people of England could spare from their home affairs. From the first entrance into Germany of Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of Protestantism, the weak Frederick had adhered to the victorious Swede, who had promised to reinstate him in the Palatinate, upon condition of his holding it as a dependency and tributary of the Swedish crown. But Gustavus Adolphus ended his extraordinary career on the 6th of November, 1632, when he was killed in the battle of Lutzen, near Leipsic. The Swedes, notwithstanding his loss, gained a complete victory; but the

Palatine Frederick saw in his death the ruin of all his hopes, and exclaiming, with a broken heart, "It is the will of God!" he took to his bed, and expired eleven days after at Mentz, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. In dying he expressed a faint hope that the King of England would show his fraternal affection for his widow, and be a protector or father to his children. But Elizabeth applied in the first place to the States of Holland, as her best friend next to heaven, imploring their protection for herself and her orphans; and the States continued to her the same pensions they had paid to Frederick. Charles sent over the Earl of Arundel to condole with his sister, and then to proceed on a mission to the emperor. Elizabeth was indignant at what she called her brother's meanness of spirit, and she predicted that Arundel's mission, which was to intercede for the restoration of the Palatinate to her innocent children, would be altogether fruitless: and so indeed it proved. Soon after this Charles rejected a treaty proposed by Cardinal Richelieu, in which a leading clause was the restitution of the Palatinate to his nephew, and was well-nigh forming an alliance with Spain and Austria against the Dutch, his sister's only friends. In the year 1635 he for the first time invited into England Charles Louis and Rupert, whose conduct and behaviour, particularly in church-time, was closely watched by Archbishop Laud, for their father had been hated on account of his Calvinism or Puritanism, and it was suspected that the taint was strong upon his children.*

* Laud says in his diary, "December 25, Christmas-day, Charles Prince-Elector received the Communion with the King at Whitehall; he kneeled a little beside on the left hand; he sat before the Communion on a stool by the wall, before the traverse, and had another stool and a cushion before him to kneel at."

It is evident that the young elector knew the archbishop's consequence, and endeavoured to win his favour.

Other entries in the diary about the same time show this. We find the king's nephew at Lambeth palace "at solemn evening prayer." On another occasion he comes suddenly upon the archbishop, dines with him at Lambeth, &c.

In the same year the Dutch in league with the French invaded Flanders by land, and infested Dunkirk by sea. It should appear that some of the Flemish plotters, upon the failure of their secret negotiations with his English Majesty, had bargained with the United Provinces; but the Dutch were very odious to the common people of Flanders on account of their religion, and both they and the French troops behaved so insolently that the country people rose against them and drove them out, while the English fleet "persuaded powerfully the Hollanders to remove from before Dunkirk."* In the month of December, shortly after the arrival of the Princes Charles Louis and Rupert, when Henrietta Maria was delivered of a second daughter, the States "sent hither to congratulate her Majesty a solemn embassy and a noble present." But it was not a compliment and a present of this kind that could make up the differences between Charles and the Dutch, or between the Dutch and the English people; for the latter felt that the massacre at Amboyna, and other injuries, had not yet been avenged, and there was an old and increasing jealousy about the Hollanders fishing in their waters, and almost monopolizing the profitable trade in herrings,—circumstances which could hardly have arisen except from their own inferiority as fishermen, their want of industry and enterprise, or the want of a proper navy to protect them.† For a time the Dutch had paid a certain sum yearly, even to King James, for the privilege of taking herrings off the Scottish coast, but they had now not only ceased to make these payments, but had encroached in other places, and had attempted to establish as a point of international law that the seas and every part of them, wherever salt water flowed, were free to them and other nations, without any limitations as to coast lines, &c. In this sense they had employed the great publicist Grotius to write his

* Whitelock.

† The Dutch sent out ships of war with their fishing snacks or busses, and the fire of their guns often drove the English and Scots from their fishing-grounds on their own coasts.

"*Mare Liberum*." Our great Selden took up his pen and answered Grotius, in his treatise (published in 1635,) entitled "*Mare Clausum*," wherein he laboured to establish the British right of dominion over the narrow seas. But this was a question not likely to be settled by the pens even of great writers; and in the following year, 1636, Charles, who, by means presently to be described, had got together a fleet, gave the command of sixty sail to the Earl of Northumberland,* who seized and sunk a few of the Dutch busses in the northern seas, near to the Scottish coast.

After this assertion of dominion over the circumjacent seas, the States hastened to acknowledge the right of our island over its own friths, bays, and shores, and agreed to pay Charles 30,000*l.* a-year for liberty to fish there. In the same year Captain Rainsborough sailed with a small squadron to the Barbary coast, where, being assisted by the Emperor of Morocco, he destroyed the shipping and town of Sallee, whence daring pirates had been accustomed to watch the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, and even to extend their depredations to the English coast. In the month of February, 1637, the Emperor Ferdinand II., the inveterate enemy of the Palatine Frederick, departed this life, and was succeeded by Ferdinand III., who, it was imagined, might be more favourably disposed towards the outcasts. Therefore, Charles again despatched the pompous Earl of Arundel into Germany. The embassy was of no effect.† To free himself from the importunities of his nephews, who had now been nearly two years in England, Charles gave them 10,000*l.*, with his permission to make war in whatever manner they might think fit for the recovery of their inheritance.‡ The young men sailed to Holland with the assistance of Lord Craven, who was chivalrously attached to their mother—still the Queen of Hearts—raised an insignificant force, and threw them—

* Northumberland's commission, under the privy seal, was signed on the 23rd of March.—*Rymer*.

† Whitelock.

‡ *Strafford Letters*.

selves into Westphalia, where there remained about 2000 Swedish veterans still in arms against the emperor. When the prince's mercenaries joined the Swedes, they gained a few trifling advantages; but they were driven from their siege of Lippe, and in their retreat were intercepted by the Imperial general, Hatzfeldt. Charles Louis, the elder brother, fled like a selfish coward, abandoning his friends on the field; but young Rupert gave proof of that fiery courage which the soldiers of the English parliament afterwards experienced to their cost; he fought till victory and escape were alike hopeless, and then he would have died rather than surrender his sword, if it had not been for Lord Craven. Charles Louis, the Elector, was arrested some time after, as he was attempting to pass in disguise through France; and Cardinal Richelieu, with very little regard to his quality and high connexions, shut him up in the castle of Vincennes. That great master of his craft, before their hair-brained expedition into Westphalia, had endeavoured to drag the English into a war with Spain, and the emperor into an alliance offensive as well as defensive with France; and Charles, who was apt to be transported with sudden passion, and who never had any fixed system of foreign policy, in his first rage at the failure of the earl marshal's negotiations in Germany, gave ear to the charmer. But the Spanish ambassador, who had obtained an inkling of these secret negotiations, came forward with new delusive promises about the Palatinate, and Charles remained firm to the advice of Wentworth, who was of opinion that no foreign war ought to be undertaken until despotism was firmly established at home.*

We may now pass to the more proximate causes of the great civil war,—the arbitrary levying of ship-money, the trial of Hampden, and the enforcing of the reading of the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. Noy, the turncoat and attorney-general, who, according to Cla-

* *Strafford Letters*.—*P. Orleans*.—*D'Estrade's Mems.* and *Lett.*—*Carte*.

rendon, was "wrought upon by degrees by the great persons that steered the public affairs to be an instrument in all their designs, turned his learning and industry to the discovery of sources of revenue, and to the justifying of them when found,—thinking that he could not give a clearer testimony that his knowledge in the law was greater than all other men's, than by making that law which all other men believed not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying project of soap, and with his own hand drew and prepared the writ for ship-money; both which will be the lasting monuments of his fame."* In hunting among the old records the attorney-general found that not only had the seaport towns been occasionally made to furnish ships for the service of the crown, but that even maritime counties had, in early time, been called upon to do the same; and that, though few, there were instances of the like demands being made upon inland places. With the assistance of the Lord-Keeper Coventry, who highly approved of the project, he induced the king to require this aid of his subjects, as a right inherent in him, and wholly independent of the parliament. And, having set on foot this arbitrary demand, Noy died almost immediately, without proposing the extreme lengths to which his scheme was subsequently carried. The first writ was issued by the lords of the council "for the assessing and levying of the ship-money against this next spring," on the 20th of October, 1634. It was signed by the king, and addressed to the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, and to the sheriffs and good men in the said city, and in the liberties thereof. The king commanded them to prepare and bring forth before the 1st day of March one ship of war of 900 tons, with 350 men at the least; one other ship of war of 800 tons, with 260 men at the least; four other ships of war of 500 tons, with 200 men for each; and another ship of war of 300 tons, with 150 men. They were further ordered to supply these said ships with guns, gunpowder, spears, and all

* Hist.

necessary arms, with double tackling, and with provisions and stores; as also to defray at their charges, for twenty-six weeks, the men's wages and all other things necessary for war. The common council and the citizens humbly remonstrated that they conceived that, by their ancient liberties, charters, and acts of parliament, they ought to be freed from any such charges; but the privy council scorned their remonstrance, and compelled them to submit. At the beginning of the following year, 1635, the writs, after being served along the sea-board, were sent into the inland counties, with very comprehensive instructions signed by Laud, Juxon, Coventry, Cottington, and the rest of the privy council. Money was asked for instead of ships, at the rate of 3300*l.* for every ship; and the local magistrates were empowered to assess all the inhabitants for a contribution. The sheriffs were enjoined to regulate the payments so as to be most equal and agreeable to the inhabitants of their counties; but, when any person refused or neglected to pay, they were without delay to execute the writ, causing distresses to be made, and their goods to be sold for payment of their assessments and the just charges arising therefrom. His majesty had not made up his mind whether his clergy should be taxed or not, but was pleased that, for the present, they should be assessed for this service, but with great care and caution.

But all this gilding of the pill could not make people swallow it; and many, especially of the gentry, expressed great discontent at this new assessment, as an imposition against law and the rights of the subject.* For a time, however, all opposition was overpowered or intimidated by the bold front of the government. The deputy lieutenants of Devonshire wrote to the council in behalf of some inland towns, that they might be spared from this tax, which they called a novelty: they were dragged up to London, and severely reprimanded for what the council considered their impertinent interference. The people in some of the little seaports on the Sussex

* Whitelock.

coast absolutely refused to pay ship-money, but they submitted when they found that extensive powers had been given to the sheriffs, and that their goods would be seized. This was at the first blush of the experiment; but when it was carried out and tried all over the country, there did not appear, for a short time, any more strenuous and courageous resistance. The timid knew that to remonstrate, however respectfully, was to incur persecution,—such had been the course pursued during the whole reign; the unthinking multitude of people in easy circumstances looked at the smallness of the amount demanded from them, and considered it not worth the trouble and certain expense of a dispute with the government,—not reflecting that the present attempt was but a gentle feeling of the public purse, an experiment to ascertain how the people of England would part with their money at the call of the crown without consent of parliament. In this sense, to a thinking patriot, a sixpence ought to have been as important as a thousand pounds; and many men, presently, viewed the case in its true light. In several places actions were brought against those who had forcibly collected the ship-money; and the judges of assize, who had been instructed to inculcate the duty of submission, were not listened to with much respect. Then Charles demanded from the twelve judges an extra-judicial opinion, in order that he might have the appearance of proceeding according to law. The case was submitted to them in these words:—“When the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, whether may not the king, by writ under the great seal of England, command all the subjects of our kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as we shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom from such danger and peril, and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness? And whether, in such case, is not the king the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?” It appears that

two of the judges were doubtful as to the point whether the king should be sole judge of the danger, but the rest started no difficulty of any kind, and, in the end, they unanimously returned an answer in the affirmative to every part of the royal question. It is said that the king obtained this opinion from the judges by declaring that it was merely for his own private satisfaction, and not meant to be binding or to be published; but it was forthwith, and by his order, read publicly in the Star Chamber (now the centre of all business) by the Lord-Keeper Coventry. Yet this publishing of the opinion of the judges of the land rather provoked than quieted resistance. Richard Chambers, that courageous London merchant, who had already suffered so much in the good cause, had brought an action against the lord mayor for imprisoning him on account of his refusal to contribute. The mayor had pleaded the king's writ as a special justification; and the plaintiff had been refused a hearing by Berkley, one of the judges of the King's Bench, who had declared that there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which might not be done by the rule of law might be done by the rule of government. Charles, and Laud, and Wentworth would have canonized such an upright judge as this; who afterwards declared in a charge to the grand jury of York, that ship-money was an inseparable flower of the crown. But foul and arbitrary as was the judgment seat, there was one, a wealthy English gentleman, of the true old Saxon stock, that was resolute to face it and expose it, and, thereby, aided by his own importance in the country, and by troops of friends entertaining the same high notions, to bring the whole question to issue.

This man was the immortal John Hampden, one of the few living gentlemen of England that could trace their family in an unbroken line from the Saxon times. He was born in 1594, and in his infancy succeeded to his father's immense estates, situated chiefly in the county of Buckingham. He studied at Oxford (at a time when Laud was Master of St. John's) and then in the Inner Temple, where he made himself acquainted

with the common law. His mind was well stored with literature, his manners refined, his person and countenance impressive and handsome. Even from the testimony of his bitterest enemies he may be safely set down as one of the most accomplished gentlemen of that time, as one whose great moral courage was accompanied by a most winning amiability of temper. When a mere stripling he had the good sense to despise honours and titles, which then flowed from such a sullied source, and to overrule the silly vanity of his mother, who yearned to see him made a lord,*—a promotion *then* (as his mother ought to have known, for it was in King James's time) attainable only through money or a base favouritism. In 1619 Hampden married a young lady of a good family in Oxfordshire, to whom he was ever tenderly attached; and, shunning the city and the court, he led the enviable life of a country gentleman, endeared to his tenantry and to all his neighbours, amusing himself with his books and field sports. But, in 1621, when the whole nation was indignant at the disgraceful government of James, and when that sovereign was compelled, by want of money, to meet the parliament, Hampden took his seat in the House of Commons as member for Grampound, then no rotten borough, but a place of some wealth and importance. It was at the same time that that "great, brave, bad man," Wentworth, first entered the House of Commons, and being then, or pretending to be, like Hampden, most zealous for the reform of abuses, and for securities against the encroachments of the prerogative, the two ancient-descended and wealthy commoners became associates and friends. Wentworth was the

* "If ever my son will seek for his honour, tell him now to come; for here is multitudes of lords a-making. I am ambitious of my son's honour, which I wish were now conferred upon him, that he might not come after so many new creations."—MS. letter, written about the year 1621, from Mrs. Elizabeth Hampden to Mr. Anthony Knyvett, as quoted from Harl. Collect., Brit. Mus., by Lord Nugent.—*Some Memorials of John Hampden, his Party and Times.*

more confident, boldly spoken, and eloquent of the two, and from the first he spoke frequently in the House: Hampden had a cooler judgment, and the better sagacity; he was less eloquent, a great deal less confident, and for a long time he spoke rarely and briefly, modestly attending to learn the duties of a parliamentary life, and working industriously in the committees. At the same time he cultivated the closest intimacy with the learned Selden, the indefatigable and daring Pym, the undaunted Eliot, and other men of that stamp. If, as a school, it was not perfect, this was certainly one of the most favourable and noble of schools for the training of a young patriot. In the parliament of 1624 Hampden again took his seat for Grampound. In 1625, when Charles summoned his first parliament, he was returned for the borough of Wendover, a town in the neighbourhood of his paternal estates, which had just before recovered its right, partly through his own exertions, to be represented in the House of Commons.

In the next parliament, which met after Buckingham's enterprise against Cadiz, Hampden was again returned for Wendover; and he was engaged on several of those memorable committees which shook both the favourite and the king. On the breaking up of that parliament, when Charles set on foot his forced loan, Hampden resolutely refused to contribute; and, on being asked why, he made this curious and striking reply:—"That he could be content to lend as well as others, but feared to draw upon himself that curse in Magna Charta which should be read twice a year against those who infringe it." The privy council, refusing his own recognizance to appear at the board, sent him a close prisoner to the Gate-House. After appearing before these willing tools of despotism, and refusing again to pay his money without warrant of parliament, he was relegated to one of his manor-houses in Hampshire. But in 1626, made more conspicuous by his sufferings in the cause of liberty, Hampden again took his seat for Wendover, and was one of the most important debaters and committee men during that most important and stormy session. In 1628, when the reforming

party was indignant at the desertion of Wentworth, Noy, and others, Hampden took his seat again, and became more conspicuous in parliament than he had ever been before. He was now in his thirty-fifth year, in the prime and vigour of manhood; and the country had learned to consider him as a champion that no tyranny could intimidate, that nothing could corrupt or turn from his high purposes. At the end of that short session he saw his friends Eliot, Sekden, Hollis, and others, committed to the Tower. Hampden again retired into private life, looking forward with a confident hope for the day when the despotic principle should be carried to its excess, and when the patriotic band should awake like giants refreshed by a long sleep, and crush the hydra for once and for ever. From his pleasant, rural solitude in Buckinghamshire he corresponded with his "honoured and dear friend Sir John Eliot, at his lodging in the Tower;"* and he performed almost the part of a father by the captive's two sons. He returned to the studies of his earlier life, and more particularly to those of constitutional law and history. Foreseeing the inevitable consequences of Charles's proceedings, he made himself familiar with the works of the great Italian historians, who had treated like soldiers and statesmen, as they were, the convulsions and campaigns that had occurred in Italy, in France, in the Low Countries. He also frequented the Lord Falkland's house at Tew,—“that college situate in a purer air,”†—for the high-minded Falkland and Hampden, whose names are coupled in an immortal verse, were then near and dear friends, wishing alike for the improvement of government both in church and state. At Tew Hampden was wont to meet, among other distinguished men, the learned, witty, and original Dr. Earles, Fellow of Merton College; Dr. Morley, afterwards the excellent Bishop of Winchester; and Dr. Hales, the Greek Professor of Oxford, who was still

* See Hampden's autograph letter in Lord Nugent's Memorials.

† Clarendon, Hist.

more distinguished by his rare spirit of gentleness and toleration than by his great learning. To men of this temper and taste, the persecution then so actively carried on by Laud must have appeared most odious and unwise.

In 1634 Hampden lost his beloved wife, and his mind, which had always been of a religious turn, became more serious and devout under the pressure of affliction. He was taxed with Puritanism, as were all men who entertained liberal opinions in politics, or who disliked the new church ceremonies, and the inquisitorial proceedings of the primate; but though he had to act with fanatics, he was a stranger to fanaticism in his own heart. When Charles demanded ship-money, Hampden resolved to make a bold and decisive stand, and he refused payment. He had taken advice in this great business from Holborne, St. John, Whitelock, and others of his legal friends, as to the means of trying the issue at law. Encouraged by his example, thirty other freeholders of his parish, of Great Kimble, in Buckinghamshire, refused payment. Almost as soon as the opinion of the judges on the legality of ship-money was recorded, the crown lawyers were ordered by the king to proceed in the Court of Exchequer against Hampden, as the chief defaulter. The point in law was argued in Michaelmas term, 1637, on the part of Hampden by Oliver St. John and Robert Holborne—on the part of the crown by the attorney-general, Sir John Bankes, of Corfe Castle, and the solicitor-general, Sir Edward Littleton. The cause began on the 6th of November, and lasted to the 18th of December. All the judges were present, and particularly argued this great point on the bench. According to the courtiers, this was a miserable stir about twenty paltry shillings - for this, and no more, was the sum demanded from Hampden;—but the men who loved their country looked to it as the manly assertion of a great and holy principle, as the weightiest cause that could be decided between the sovereign and the people. The crown lawyers insisted on ancient precedents from the Saxon times downwards, and they dilated upon the fairness and lightness of the impost and the pittance de-

manded from the wealthy Mr. Hampden.* On the other hand, Hampden's counsel maintained that the law and constitution of England had sufficiently provided for the defence of the kingdom without the novelty of ship-money. St. John went on to urge the usefulness and power of parliaments as summoned by the old sovereigns in times of danger. The kings of England, St. John observed, in moments of danger, had ever had recourse to their parliaments, and the aids demanded by them and granted by parliament were most numerous. If they had assumed the right of judging of the danger and providing for it of their own right by exacting money from the subject, this could hardly have been the case, it being "rare in a subject, and more so in a prince, to ask and take as a gift, that which he might and ought to have of right, and that, too, without so much as a salvo or declaration of his right." The very asking of benevolences and loans proved that the crown possessed no general right of taxation. If it had possessed such a right it would have taxed and not borrowed. The loans of former times had in some cases been repaid expressly to clear the king's conscience, *ad exonerandum conscientiam*. And that very arbitrary prince Henry VIII., who felt it inconvenient to repay what he had borrowed, could not sit down with a comfortable mind till he had obtained from parliament acts to release him from the obligation. Hampden's advocates relied upon Magna Charta, and especially upon the Confirmatio Chartarum of Edward I., which clearly abrogated for ever all taxation without consent of parliament; and they made still more account of the famous statute *de Tallagio non Concedendo* of Edward III. That warlike sovereign had often infringed this right of the subject, but the parliament never ceased to remonstrate, and, in the end, the conqueror of France was obliged to conform to the law. In the second year of Richard II., when the realm was in imminent danger of a formidable invasion from France, the privy council called together the peers and other great men, who freely lent their own money, but declared that they could not

* State Trials.

provide a sufficient remedy without charging the Commons, which could not be done out of parliament, and therefore advised the immediate summoning of a parliament. This precedent was strong against the plea of peril and necessity on which the defenders of ship-money wished to make it appear that they relied. But St. John and Holborne met that specious plea more directly. They stated broadly the overwhelming force of actual war and invasion which had power to silence for the time of danger even the sacred voice of the law: they admitted that, in an invasion, or the immediate prospect of one, the rights of private individuals must yield to the safety of the whole; that the sovereign, and even each man in respect of his neighbour, might then do many things that would be illegal at other seasons. Such had been the case in 1588, when the liberties and religion of the people were put in jeopardy by the Spanish Armada. But *now* there was no danger; England was at peace with all the world, and the piracies of a few Turkish Corsairs and the insolence of some rival states could not be reckoned among those instant perils for which a parliament would provide too late. But, after all, their great and unanswerable argument was founded, not upon precedents and rolls of ancient times, "when all things concerning the king's prerogative and the subjects' liberties were upon uncertainties,"* but upon the Petition of Right, which was not yet ten years old; and, as it has been well remarked, Charles himself was fully aware of the restrictions which that statute imposed when he so unwillingly but solemnly gave his assent to it and passed it into a law. By this assent he renounced all gifts, loans, benevolences, taxes, or any such-like charge without common consent by act of parliament. This was his own deed—his own contract—let the proceedings of his predecessors be what they might. It swept away all contrary precedents,—it stood armed at all points against any such imposition as ship-money,—its voice was so loud and clear that the meanest intellect could comprehend it. But the court lawyers thought to overlay it with

* A lucid expression of St. John's.

words—to bury it under the weight of the late attorney-general's musty records. “I shall insist,” said Sir John Bankes, “upon precedents, and herein I shall desire you to take notice that these writs have not issued out at the first upon any sudden advice, but that there was a great search made, first by my predecessor Mr. Noy, a man of great learning and profound judgment; other searches made by the king's counsel, and some others; and a great number of records were considered of, and maturely, before these writs issued; so nothing was done upon the sudden.” He quoted instances—all very old ones—and cavilled on the more modern and intelligible statutes. But this was not enough to serve their purposes, and so Bankes and his colleagues unblushingly took their stand on the position that the monarchy of England was an absolute monarchy, that the power of Charles was above all law, and statutes, and parliamentary devices. “This power,” exclaimed the attorney-general, “is not any ways derived from the people, but reserved unto the king, where positive laws first began. For the king of England, he is an absolute monarch; nothing can be given to an absolute prince but what is inherent in his person. He can do no wrong. He is the sole judge, and we ought not to question him. Where the law trusts we ought not to distrust.” The acts of parliament, he observed, contained no express words to take away so high a prerogative; and the king's prerogative, even in lesser matters, is always saved, where express words do not restrain it. When Charles instructed or allowed his crown lawyers to talk in this strain, he ought to have been prepared to back them with a regular army of a hundred thousand men. But Bankes was just and moderate compared to some of the judges. “This imposition,” said Justice Crawley, “appertains to the king originally, and to the successor, *ipso facto*, if he be a sovereign, in right of his sovereignty from the crown. You cannot have a king without these royal rights: no, not by act of parliament.” Holborne had pleaded the constitutional doctrine and practice, that the sovereign could take nothing from the people without consent of

their representatives. "Mr. Holborne is utterly mistaken therein," exclaimed Justice Berkley. "The *law* knows no such king-yoking policy! The *law* is itself *an old and trusty servant of the king's*; it is *his* instrument or means, which he useth to govern his people by. I never read nor heard that *Lex* was *Rex*; but it is common and most true that *Rex* is *Lex*." And yet *all* the judges were not so prompt and resolute as the court wished. Even Finch and Crawley thought it decorous to prolong the discussion, and the business was dragged through the three following terms. In Hilary Term, 1638, there was an appearance of unanimity; but by Easter Term the judges differed, and Croke boldly concluded against ship-money. Croke had signed the answer to the king's question with the rest, but it was out of a fear of consequences. The loss of place was then generally attended by such persecutions as might daunt a man not constitutionally timid. The judge saw a prison for himself, poverty and want for his family, if he resisted the royal will; but his high-minded wife, who was equally aware of this danger, encouraged him to encounter it. "She was," says Whitelock, "a very good and pious woman, and told her husband upon this occasion, that she hoped he would do nothing against his conscience, for fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family; and that she would be contented to suffer want or any misery with him, rather than be an occasion for him to do or say anything against his judgment and conscience."* So long as there were English wives and mothers of this brave sort the liberties of the country were not to be despaired of. Justice Hutton joined Croke, and when Justice Jones treated the matter somewhat doubtingly, deciding for the king, but with the condition that no portion of the ship-money should ever go to the privy purse, he manfully denied the legality of the *tax*, and advised that judgment should be given for Hampden. But, in Trinity Term, on the 11th day of June, 1638, the attorney-general—as the sentence of the

* Memorials.

majority of the judges was still for the king—moved for judgment to be entered against Mr. Hampden; and on the following day, judgment was entered in the Court of Exchequer.* The opposition, however, that had been made by two of the judges went to deepen the impression already made by the trial. The government could no longer get money from the sheriffs of counties,—everywhere men took heart. “Hampden,” says Clarendon, “by the choice of the king’s counsel, had brought his cause to be first heard and argued; and with that judgment it was intended that the whole right of the matter should be concluded, and all other cases overruled.”† Thus, the Lord Say, who had refused ship-money, and excited a spirited opposition in Warwickshire, was denied a trial when he asked for it. But Clarendon is fain to confess that the sentence procured against Hampden did not set the question at rest; that, on the contrary it stirred up resistance to ship-money, or, as he expresses it—“it is notoriously known, that pressure was borne with much more cheerfulness before the judgment for the king than ever it was after. Archbishop Laud seems to have thought that this was owing to Justices Croke and Hutton, who according to him, had both “gone against the king *very sourly*.”‡

The sympathizing Wentworth, it appears, thought that matters might be mended by whipping Hampden, like Prynne or Lilburne. “Mr. Hampden,” says he to his dear friend the archbishop, “is a great *brother*; § and the very genius of that nation of people leads them always to oppose, both civilly and ecclesiastically, all that

* Brampton, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, and Davenport, Chief Baron of Exchequer, had pronounced for Hampden, but merely upon technical reasons, and had joined the majority on the principal question. Denham, another judge of the same court, was more honest; being sick in his bed, he sent in a written judgment in favour of Hampden. The court majority of seven consisted of Finch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Jones, Berkley, Vernon, Crawley, Trevor, and Weston.

† Hist.

‡ Strafford Letters.

§ Puritan.

ever authority ordains for them. But, in good faith were they rightly served, they should be whipped home into their right wits; and much beholden they should be to any that would thoroughly take pains with them in that sort.”*

The court crowded a vast deal of tyranny and cruelty into the interval of time between the opening and closing of this trial, but it did not venture to scourge and mutilate the English gentleman who was now regarded as a *Pater Patriæ*, and as the pilot who must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks that threatened it.† At the same time Hampden’s prudence and moderation, which are highly praised by all his contemporaries, of whatsoever party, prevented his giving any hold to the arbitrary council, who longed at least for an opportunity of committing him to the Tower, where his honoured and dear friend, Sir John Eliot, was wearing out in sickness the last years of his life.

But by this time the storm had arisen in the north. The new service book was sent out at the beginning of the year 1637, and appointed to be read in all Scotch churches from the Easter Sunday. The Scots maintained that the sovereign could not impose a Liturgy without consent of their own parliament, and their murmurs were so loud that the experiment was put off from Easter to Sunday the 23rd of July, when the Dean of Edinburgh began to read the book in St. Giles’s kirk, which had been recently converted by Laud into a cathedral church. The people, fully prepared, had gathered in crowds from many parts. The archbishops and bishops, the lords of session, and the magistrates were all present by command. No sooner had the dean opened the service book and begun to read out of it than the people filled the church with uproar, clapping their hands, uttering execrations and outcries, raising a hideous noise and hubbub. The Bishop of Edinburgh, who was to preach that day, stepped into the pulpit, and tried to appease the tumult by reminding them of the holiness of the place; but this

* *Strafford Letters.*† *Clarendon Hist.*

increased the storm instead of allaying it, and presently a jointstool was thrown at the bishop's head, but diverted by the hand of one present—luckily diverted—for, though thrown by the arm of a woman, it was thrown with such vigour, that the general opinion was, that had it hit him, supposing his skull to be only of ordinary thickness, the stool must have killed the bishop. Sticks, stones, dirt followed the stool, with cries of "Down with the priest of Baal!" "A pape, a pape!" "Antichrist!" "Thrapple him!" "Stone him!" The Archbishop of St. Andrew's (lord chancellor) and other great persons then attempted to restore order, but they had no reverence from the multitude, who cursed them, together with the bishop and dean. Then the provost, the bailies, and others of the city authorities, came forth from their places, and with much ado and in terrible confusion cleared the church of the chief of those people that had made the tumult, and shut the church-doors against them. And the dean began to read the service anew, but such were the outcries, rapping at the doors, throwing in of stones at the windows, by the multitude without, who still kept crying "A pape, a pape!" "Antichrist!" "Pull him down!" that the bailies of the city were again obliged to leave their places to appease the fury. At last the service and sermon were both ended, but not the people's rage: the Bishop of Edinburgh, who had preached the sermon, on leaving the church for his residence, distant not many paces, was surrounded by the multitude, cast down and nearly trodden to death. The same morning the new service was read in another church adjoining to St. Giles's, yet not without a tumult, and in the Grey Friars' church the Bishop-elect of Argyle, who began to read it, was hooted and threatened, and forced to give over after coming to the confession and absolution. Between morning and afternoon service the provost and bailies of Edinburgh were summoned before the Privy Council, who assembled at the Lord Chancellor's, and undertook to do their utmost for the peaceable reading of the prayers in the afternoon. Accordingly the churches were kept tolerably quiet by keeping out the people altogether;

but after service the tumult was far greater than in the morning; and the Earl of Roxburgh, lord privy seal, who undertook to carry the bishop home from St. Giles's in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and so pressed upon by the mob, who wanted to drag out the "priest of Baal," that he was obliged to order his footmen and numerous attendants to draw their swords; and thus he and the bishop at last got into the palace of Holyrood, covered with dirt and curses.

On the following day the council issued a proclamation in detestation of this tumult, and to forbid all tumultuous meetings and concourse of people to Edinburgh, upon pain of death. The magistrates pretended to deplore the disturbances; and they stated that no persons of quality had appeared in them. In truth, the rioters had been for the most part women and children of the poorest condition. The town-council, however, thought fit to suspend the reading of the new service till his majesty's further pleasure should be known, seeing it was so dangerous to the readers.* For this they were harshly rebuked by Laud, who told them, through the Earl of Traquair, lord treasurer for Scotland, that his majesty took it very ill that the business concerning the establishment of the service-book had been so weakly carried, and had great reason to think himself and his government dishonoured by the late tumult in Edinburgh. "And, therefore," continues the English primate, "his majesty expects that your lordship and the rest of the honourable council set yourselves to it, that the Liturgy may be established orderly, and with peace, to repair what hath been done amiss."† At the same time, several of the Scottish lords, not content with denying all share in the prayer-book, quarrelled violently with the new bishops and the most stirring of the antipresbyterian clergy. Traquair himself complained to the Marquess of Hamil-

* Whitelock.—Rushworth.

† Laud's letter to Traquair, in Rushworth. Some slight alterations had been made in the Scottish Liturgy,—hence Laud said that it was their own.

ton, who was at court, and still high in the royal favour, that some of the leading men among them were so violent and forward, had such a want of right understanding how to compass business of this nature and weight, that they bred the Scottish government many difficulties.* But Laud and Charles would listen to no complaints against the new bishops; and, urged on by them, the Scottish council issued a decree of "horning," or banishment, against all such ministers as refused to receive the New Book of Common Prayer, "out of curiosity and singularity." Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars; Mr. John Hamilton, minister at Newburn; and Mr. James Bruce, minister of Kingsbarns, petitioned against this harsh sentence with great good sense and moderation, and with a total and most rare abstinence from fanaticism. They told the lords of secret council that they had been willing enough to receive the said books to read them beforehand, in order to see what doctrine they contained, without which knowledge they could not adopt them; that, in the matters of God's worship, they were not bound to blind obedience to any man; that the said Book of Common Prayer was neither authorised by the general assembly, the representative kirk of the kingdom, which ever since the Reformation had given directions in matters of worship, nor by any act of parliament, which had been ever thought necessary in high matters of this kind; that they, upon a competent allowance of time, would undertake to prove it departed widely from the doctrine of the Reformation, and in points most material came near to the church of Rome; and, finally, that the people of Scotland had been otherwise taught by themselves and their predecessors in the pulpit, and, therefore, it was likely that they would be found averse to the sudden change, even if their pastors adopted it. Laud's own bishop, the Bishop of Ross, gave a very short answer to these petitioners. He told them that, while they pretended ignorance of what was contained in the book, it

* Letter from Traquair to Hamilton, in Burnet's Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton.

appeared by their many objections and exceptions to it, that they were but too well read in it, albeit they had abused it pitifully. He assured the ministers that the service-book was neither superstitious nor idolatrous, but, on the contrary, one of the most orthodox and perfect Liturgies in the Christian church, and that therefore they must accept it, and read it, or bide their horning.*

Charles, to punish the inhabitants of the good old town, sent down orders for the removing of the term, or session, and the council of government from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, the next term to Stirling, the next to Dundee, &c., together with a fresh proclamation, commanding the Presbyterians to disperse immediately, and return to their homes, under pain of being treated as wicked and rebellious subjects, and with an order for calling in and burning a seditious book, entitled 'A dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland.' The council would have delayed the publication of the arbitrary decrees; but Charles's orders were peremptory, and they were all read at the market cross. The Earl of Traquair communicated a part of the immediate result to the Marquess of Hamilton. "The noblemen," says he, "the gentry, and commissioners from presbyteries and burghs, seemed to acquiesce herewith, and every man, in a very peaceable manner, to give obedience to the tenour of the proclamations; but the next day thereafter, the town of Edinburgh, or, as our new magistrates call it, the rascally people of Edinburgh (although their sisters, wives, children, and near kinsmen, were the special actors), rose in such a barbarous manner, as the like has never been seen in this kingdom, set upon the Bishop of Galloway, and with great difficulty was he rescued into the large council-house."† At last, the gentlemen and clergymen who had come up to present the petition, and who had been opprobriously ordered out of the town, used their good offices to prevent bloodshed, and, by their influence and persuasion, rescued the bishop, the council, and the ma-

* Rushworth.

† Hardwicke State Papers.

gistrates from the hands of the rioters. It was observed, however, that the friends and relations of these very magistrates were in the mob; that citizens of the best repute, with their wives and their sisters, were actively engaged, and that many well-known gentlemen openly joined the people in their cries and denunciations. It was, therefore, no longer possible to represent the disaffection as a thing of no consequence—as a mere outbreak of the lowest and poorest, who might easily be brought to reason by a little hanging and scourging. And nearly at the same time the city of Glasgow became the scene of a similar rising against the Prayer Book and episcopacy. But Charles and Laud, though warned by the Scottish ministers of the fierce and dangerous spirit of the people,—of the daily accession to their cause of men of rank and ability,—of the defenceless state of Edinburgh Castle and the other fortresses,—of the poverty of the exchequer,—were resolved to go “thorough,” and that too without admitting of any delay. Apprehending that the king meant to deprive Edinburgh for ever of its honours and advantages as the seat of government, the citizens of that ancient capital became more incensed than ever; and it was soon made to appear that Charles had committed a fatal mistake in exciting their jealousy in this particular. Before the removal of the session from Linlithgow to Stirling, the “Four Tables,” or Boards, as we should now call them, were established with the acquiescence of the Scottish council, which were representative committees, consisting respectively of lords, gentlemen, ministers, and burgesses, and which were to be fixed permanently in the capital. With these Tables in Edinburgh there corresponded lesser Tables, or sub-committees, in the country, a constant communication being established among them all. Above all these Tables was a general Table, which consisted of members taken from each, and which was intrusted with something very like a supreme executive power. In the course of a very few weeks these Tables were looked up to with far more respect than the paltry government, and they exercised an uncontrolled authority over the greater part of Scotland. It has been

well said that a better scheme for organizing insurrection could not easily have been devised. The contrivers of it and the leading members of the permanent committee were the Lords Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, and Cranston. While the king was determined to cede nothing, the Presbyterians now almost daily advanced their demands, and pressed them with increasing pertinacity and boldness. The lord treasurer, the Earl of Traquair, was summoned up to London by Charles, who examined him sharply, and then sent him back—though his sincerity was much doubted—with still harsher and more despotic instructions. Traquair was enjoined, or bound by an oath, to keep these things secret till the very moment when they should be announced by proclamation at Stirling; but, probably through the earl himself, the contents of the proclamation were divulged immediately; upon which the Tables put themselves into a state of preparation. The members of the sub-committees were summoned from all parts to meet at Edinburgh and Stirling. To disperse them and the multitudes that flocked with them, Traquair, on the 19th of February, caused the king's proclamation to be read at Stirling, where the council was then sitting, "condemning their irregular proceedings; imputing them rather to preposterous zeal than to disaffection or disloyalty; remitting past offences to such as should obey his majesty's commands; discharging all future meetings, on pain of treason; forbidding them to repair to Stirling, or any other place, where the council and session sat, without notifying their business, and obtaining leave from the council; and ordering strangers of all ranks to quit the place within six hours after the proclamation, under the same penalty." But the herald had scarcely done reading this proclamation, when the Lords Hume and Lindsay, acting for the Tables, published with equal solemnity, a counter-proclamation, which was then fixed to the market-cross at Stirling, and copies of it sent to be read and affixed in Edinburgh and Linlithgow. Traquair, who had foreseen the mischief, wrote to Hamilton, that his majesty must now "perceive how much all sorts and

qualities of people of Scotland were commoved.”* The Presbyterians, being now openly joined by the most powerful and popular noblemen of the kingdom, and even by several members of Charles’s government, proceeded boldly to frame and subscribe their celebrated National Covenant, whereby they undertook to maintain, at all hazards, the old form of worship; to maintain the confession of faith subscribed by Charles’s father and household and all ranks of people in 1580 and 1581, and again in 1590. The name was adopted from the covenants of Israel with God; and the nature of the obligation was derived from the bonds of mutual defence and maintenance peculiar to the nation; but the word covenant had a most significant and holy sense in the ears of the Scottish people, who knew that that form of association had carried their ancestors triumphantly through their struggle with Papistry. The Tables, or standing and well-organized committees, now summoned every Scotsman who valued his kirk to repair to the capital, there to observe a solemn fast as a fitting preparation for the renewal of the covenant. The call was obeyed everywhere, and Edinburgh was presently crowded and crammed with fiery Presbyterians, who generally travelled with good broad-swords. Upon the appointed day, the 1st of March, they took undisputed possession of the High, or St. Giles’s kirk, which, in their notions, had been profaned by the preaching and praying of Laud’s dean and bishop. After long prayers and exhortations the new covenant was produced; the congregation rose, and nobles, gentry, clergy, and burgesses, with hands raised towards heaven, swore to its contents. This memorable deed had been prepared by Alexander Henderson, one of the four ministers whose petition had been so rudely answered by the Bishop of Ross, and by Archibald Johnston, an advocate, and the great legal adviser of the party. It had also been revised by the Lords Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes. Whatever other defects there may have been in the composition, there was no want of power. It

* Hardwicke State Papers.

was, indeed, most skilfully adapted for acting upon a proud, a devout, and enthusiastic people, who were about equally proud of their national independence and their national kirk.

A few creatures of the court saw in all this mighty enthusiasm nothing more serious than a brief fanatic outbreak, and they assured Charles, who ought to have remembered the history of his grandmother and of his great-grandmother, that it would be easily dashed and dissipated. This was miserably to misunderstand the character of the Scottish people. Copies of the deed were despatched to the different counties in the west and north, the popular preachers were all warned, a fire of pulpit-batteries was opened from John o' Groat's House to the Cheviot hills—from Aberdeen to Tobermory, and the COVENANT was spoken in its thunder. The people were roused and excited to the utmost; all ranks and ages hailed the pledge of liberty and salvation, and the covenant was signed on the Sabbath in every parish with shouts, tears of joy, or contrition, and hearty embraces. Traquair pointed out the only means of averting the storm. "If," says his lordship, "his majesty would be pleased to free them, or give them an assurance that no novelty of religion shall be brought upon them, it is like the most part of the wisest sort will be quiet; but, without this, there is no obedience to be expected in this part of the world; and, in my judgment, no assurance can be given them hereof, but by freeing them of the Service-book and Book of Canons.*

But still Charles and Laud disregarded the warning, and were determined to impose the Common Prayer-book upon the people of Scotland by force of arms. The great meeting of the Covenanters at Edinburgh dissolved tranquilly; but they left commissioners behind them, and established such intelligence among themselves and with all parts of the country, that they could meet and come together at the shortest notice. The Covenanters knew their strength and the mighty power they had in

* Hardwicke State Papers.

the sympathies of the Puritans in the south; and they began to assert that they were as well friended in England as the king himself.* Wherever they encountered opposition from any Scottish subjects, they threatened them with their high displeasure and the curse of the true kirk; nor did they always limit themselves to threats, particularly when any of Laud's ministers (his bishops had all run away) fell into their hands. There were fierce riots at Lanark and other towns. In some places men were thrown into prison, or put in the stocks, for refusing to sign. In the west country, where Presbyterianism was the warmest, they would give no traveller or passenger either meat, drink, or lodging for his money, until he first gave them assurance that he was an adherent to the covenant.

Traquair repeatedly urged that his majesty should hear some of his Scottish ministers and servants before making up his mind, or "concluding fully" as to what course he ought to take at this crisis; but without hearing any such—nay, without advising with his English council, or with any English servant of government except his fatal Laud—Charles himself drew up a commission for the Marquess of Hamilton, who was ordered to proceed with all haste to reduce that "rascally people" to order. Hamilton was hereby instructed to read the royal proclamation which he bore to the lords of the Scottish council, previously to publishing it, and to exact, if he chose, a solemn oath from each member of that council to do his best to execute the proclamation.† If any

* Anonymous letter in Dalrymple's Memorials, dated 16th April, 1638.

† One of the great provocations was the removal of the courts, &c. from the capital; yet Charles says,—“We give you power to cause the council to sit in whatsoever place you shall find most convenient for our service, Edinburgh only excepted, and to change the meeting thereof as often as occasion shall require.” In another clause he says, “Whenever the town of Edinburgh shall depart from the Covenant, and petition for our favour, *then* we will that you bring back the council and session to it.

body should protest against this royal proclamation, he was to treat him as a rebel, and apprehend him, *if possible*. He was to give a bold negative to any petitions that might be presented by the Covenanters, both in respect of the matter, and as coming from an unacknowledged and illegal association. He was not to press for the exact execution of Laud's church orders for the present, but he was to take good care not to promise their abrogation. He was to allow the Scots six weeks to renounce the covenant, and, if he found cause, *less*. "You shall declare," continues the king, "that if there be no sufficient strength within the kingdom to force the refractory to obedience, power shall come from England, and that myself will come in person with them, being resolved to hazard my life, rather than to suffer authority to be contemned. . . . If you cannot (by the means prescribed by us) bring back the refractory and seditious to due obedience, we do not only give you authority, but command all hostile acts whatsoever to be used against them, they having deserved to be used no otherwise by us but as a rebellious people: for the doing thereof, we will not only save you harmless, but account it as acceptable service done us."* Having received his instructions and commission, Hamilton took leave of the king, who ordered him to write often to himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury, he being the only English person intrusted with the secrets of the Scottish affairs. On the 3rd of June Hamilton arrived at Berwick, where the Earl of Roxburgh met him, and told him how small were his hopes of success. The marquess, when he came to Berwick, had expected to find a great company of noblemen and others to receive him and attend him as the king's high commissioner; and he had especially counted upon his own kindred and vassals, or tenantry; but all failed him, except "some very few who had not subscribed the covenant, and they inconsiderable: for the Tables of the Covenanters required that none who had taken the covenant should give any attendance upon the

* Rushworth.

marquess.”* With a heavy heart, Hamilton went on to Dalkeith, where he was received by the lords of the secret council, by some of the lords of session, and troops of the nobility and gentry who had not subscribed. On his way from Dalkeith he was met by the whole body of the nobility and gentry of the Covenanters that were residents of the capital and neighbourhood. They were all mounted on horseback, and consisted of several thousands—more calculated, no doubt, to overawe than to testify respect. And as the marquess drew still nearer to Edinburgh, he saw a small hill blackened all over with Geneva cloaks—for five hundred Presbyterian preachers, on foot, had there taken their post, and had appointed “the strongest in voice and austere in countenance to make him a short welcome; but this the marquess avoided.”†

As soon as Hamilton was settled at Holyrood, he asked the Covenanters what would satisfy them and induce them to renounce their league. They answered, nothing but a general assembly and a parliament, and instantly clapped new guards upon Edinburgh Castle, and multiplied the guards and watches of the city. At the same time the preachers advised the people to take heed of crafty propositions; and when the marquess proposed hearing divine service in the king’s chapel, they sent to tell him that he must not read the English service-book; and they nailed up the organ, which they considered as an abomination unto the Lord.‡ A few days after they wrote a letter to the marquess, admonishing him and every one of the council to subscribe their blessed covenant, as they hoped to be esteemed Christians and pa-

* Rushworth.

† Id.—Baillie’s Letters.

‡ The ministers whom Wentworth had so tyrannically driven out of Ulster were now taking their revenge, and informing the people of Scotland of the crafty propositions and broken promises of Charles’s government in Ireland. “The pulpits,” says Traquair, “are daily filled with those ministers, who were lately put out of Ireland, who, with some of their own, and some such others as come from other places of this kingdom, preach nothing but foolish seditious doctrine.”—*Hardwicke State Papers*.

tricts.* They declared that the Scottish people would as soon renounce their baptism as their covenant. Hamilton wisely declined publishing Charles's proclamation, and advised his master to be prepared either to grant them all their demands, or to hasten down his fleet with an army in it, to put soldiers into Berwick and Carlisle, and to follow in person with an army royal. On the 15th of June the marquess received the following answer from the king:—"I expect not anything can reduce that people to obedience but force only. In the mean time your care must be how to dissolve the multitude, and, if it be possible, to possess yourself of my castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, which I do not expect; and to this end I give you leave to flatter them with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against my grounds, and in particular that you consent neither to the calling of parliament nor general assembly, until the covenant be disavowed and given up, your chief end being now to win time until I be ready to suppress them. . . . This I have written to no other end than to show you I will rather die than yield to those impertinent and damnable demands, as you rightly call them; for it is all one as to yield to be no king in a very short time. . . . As the affairs are now, I do not expect that you should declare the adherers to the covenant traitors, until, as I have already said, you have heard from me that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland, though your six weeks should be elapsed. In a word, gain time by all the honest means you can, without forsaking your grounds."

By honest means Charles meant any means that did not openly commit his own character. The Presbyterian ministers, understanding that the covenant must be given up, or no treaty made, caused their pulpits to ring with exhortations of firm adherence to the great national bond, and again all declared that they would never quit the covenant except with their lives. They presented their petition to the marquess, calling for an immediate redress of their grievances, telling him that they would no longer

* See the letter of the ministers in Rushworth.

be put off by delays. Hamilton, obeying the spirit at least, if not the letter, of the king's instructions to temporise and delude, promised them that he would call both a general assembly and a parliament for the redress of all grievances. It appears, however, that the Covenanters were aware of the plot contrived by the king, or were suspicious of all his intentions, for they went away dissatisfied, putting no trust in Hamilton's fair promises. He informed his master of all this, and implored him not to proceed in his warlike preparations too openly. Charles, in reply, told him that he would take his advice, and stop public preparations, but "in a silent way" he would not cease, so that he might be ready upon the least advertisement. The Covenanters presented to the marquess an "explanation of the bond of mutual defence," in which they again most solemnly protested that they meant not to derogate from the king's authority or to disobey and rebel against his majesty's laws. "All our proceedings," said they, "by petitioning, protesting, covenanting, and whatsoever other way, was and is only for the maintaining of the true religion by us professed; and with express reservation of our obedience to his most sacred majesty."* The marquess transmitted their paper to Charles, together with fresh desponding accounts of his own; but the answer he received was as high and absolute as ever.†

If Hamilton, at this stage, is to be praised, it must be for his loyalty, and not for his patriotism: he told the Covenanters that he should leave them in order to wait upon his majesty, to explain their desires, and to return to them again within three weeks or a month. But the true reason of his going was to gain so much time, and to see in what state of forwardness were the king's warlike preparations. Previously to his departure, on the 4th of July, he presented the royal proclamation, which he had brought with him, to the Scottish council, who signed it upon omission of the command to abandon the covenant. Thereupon it was sent to the Market-cross and there read

* Rushworth.

† Id.

aloud ; but it was met instantly by a long and powerfully written protest drawn up in the name of the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burghs, and commons. This was followed by another explanation of their covenant, which was given to Hamilton to be put into the king's hands. When the marquess came to court, he gave Charles a full account of the "strength and rage of the Covenanters," together with the "unconstancy" of many members of the Scottish council ; and he proposed to his majesty, as a middle course, to renew the confession of faith which had been ratified by the Scottish Parliament in 1567. Charles immediately sent back the marquess with enlarged instructions. He was to try, by all means, to make the Scottish council sign the said confession of faith, and thereby, as the court chose to argue, give up the covenant ; but he was not publicly to put the proposition to vote in the council except he was quite sure to carry the point : he was to summon a general assembly, but to take good care that the sitting of the assembly should not be before the 1st of November : he was, by all the means in his power, to dissipate the well-founded suspicions of the Presbyterians, to gain time in order that the military preparations might be matured ; and although he was to protest against the abolishing of bishops, he was "to advise the bishops to forbear sitting at the council, till better and more favourable times for them." These better times were to be brought about by fire and sword ; but Charles was not as yet ready, and therefore he concluded thus : "Notwithstanding all these instructions, or any other accident that may happen (still labouring to keep up our honour so far as possibly you can), you are by no means to permit a present rupture to happen, but to yield anything, though unreasonable, rather than now to break."*

But while the marquess was busy at court in arranging these matters, the Covenanters in Scotland were not idle, but pressed might and main for more subscriptions to the league. "And because the north were for the most

* Rushworth.

part against the covenant, some noblemen and ministers went on the 23rd of July (being that day twelvemonth the stool was thrown at the bishop's head) to Aberdeen, hoping to convince the doctors there of the lawfulness of the covenant. But the doctors violently argued against the same, because it was a combination without warrant or authority. And the Covenanters gave out to the said doctors at Aberdeen that the lord commissioner was satisfied with the covenant upon the offer of that explication (which is formerly mentioned); but, at the commissioner's return, he declared the contrary.* It is well known that the Covenanters, notwithstanding their pretensions to godliness, began, at a very early stage, to be almost as regardless of their word, when an advantage was to be gained by breaking it, as the king himself was of his promises; but in the present case it may be doubted whether Hamilton had not deceived them by professions of admiration of their holy league. Upon his return to Holyrood House, on the 10th of August, he found things in a much worse posture than he had left them in. He knew not what to do; but he resolved at all hazards not to call a general assembly until he had again been to London in person to represent to his majesty the extreme hazard he was like to run. Three days after his arrival at Edinburgh, the confident Covenanters waited upon him to demand an answer to the explanation and petition they had forwarded by him to the court. He declared that the king's answer was full of grace and goodness,—that his majesty promised that he would leave nothing undone that could be expected from a just prince to save the nation from ruin,—that as soon as order and government were re-established as before these combustions, and obedience made to the crown, both an assembly and a parliament should be convoked. He never could have expected that men, distinguished by their sagacity and their distrust of professions, should be satisfied with vague promises like these. The Covenanters negotiated eight or nine days, and then the marquess craved again the space

* Rushworth,

of twenty days to go to court and bring another answer from his majesty. Hamilton's object, as was understood by the Covenanters, was to gain more time; but before he began his journey he thought fit to consult with the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Southesk, and even to join his signature with theirs to certain articles of advice to be offered to the king. In this paper Charles was most earnestly urged to revoke those innovations in religion and law which alone, without any disloyalty, had moved his subjects to their present courses. Hamilton left Edinburgh on the 25th of August: on the 10th of September he received fresh instructions from his master, who, it was said, was resolved to try "the utmost of yielding" for the recovery of his subjects' affections. In fact, Charles, who had been so averse to the slightest concession, now gave up everything to the Scots, empowering Hamilton, by proclamation or otherwise as he should see cause, to declare that his majesty did absolutely revoke the Service Book, the Book of Canons, the Five Articles of Perth, and the High Commission. By other clauses of his instructions the bishops were given up to the vengeance of the laws,—the Episcopal government was declared to be limited by the laws of the Scottish church and kingdom as already established,—and the prelates were no longer to hold any political posts. On his return towards Edinburgh, Hamilton met in Yorkshire the fugitive Scottish bishops, to whom he signified his majesty's pleasure, telling them that, though the king would maintain Episcopacy, he was content that their power should be limited, and that they should no longer hold civil offices. At this the bishops were thrown into a fury, and spoke with great vehemency. On the 17th of September, Hamilton was again at Holyrood, and, on the 21st, he received the Covenanters, and told them that the king had granted them all that they desired, and that, by his gracious permission, a free assembly and a parliament were to be called immediately. They were, or appeared to be, satisfied, until the marquess mentioned that they must sign the old Confession of Faith as adopted by King James in 1580 and 1590,

which they looked upon as an artifice to set aside their new bond of the covenant. And then, upon reflection, their suspicions were excited by the amplitude of the king's concessions. If Charles had intended to keep his promises he would hardly have promised so much ; and at this time, or more probably some weeks earlier, the Covenanters obtained certain intelligence that he was secretly engaged in raising an army against them. It was not without reason that the Covenanters had asserted that they were as well befriended in England as the king himself. Their leaders were in close correspondence with several of the leading English patriots—practical men—men of business, who were not likely to neglect anything which tended to strengthen them for their contest. And besides, there were several of the Scottish counsellors and courtiers about the king who were suspected both of Presbyterianism and venality.*

On the 22nd of September, Hamilton caused the proclamation to be read at the Market-cross, in which the Liturgy, the High Commission, &c., were given up and declared to be void and null ; but, as it contained the condition of signing the old Confession of Faith, which was interpreted as implying the abandonment of their recent engagement, the Covenanters instantly protested against it. The protest, like all the papers issued by that party, was wonderfully effective and powerfully worded. The protest pointed out to the jealous eyes of the Scots that, by subscribing the confession as now urged, they, according to the royal proclamation would acquiesce in that declaration to his majesty's absolute will, and submit to accept of a pardon from him, which pardon had need to be ratified in parliament ; and this, they said, was turning their glory into shame, by con-

* Soon after this we find a friend to Charles's government saying, "And because there be divers Scots Covenanters about court, who give intelligence (both by the ordinary, and posters and journeymen for Scotland), a course should be taken that the letters may be opened ; and that the governor of Berwick may give order for some strict searching and examining the Scots travellers, &c.—*Hardwicke State Papers*.

fessing their guiltiness where God had made them guiltless. Neither party now would or could trust the other. Charles himself had signed the new bond, though it contained many clauses altogether repugnant to Arminianism, and it was subscribed at Edinburgh by Hamilton, Traquair, Marr, Murray, Haddington, Lauderdale, Southesk, Napier, Carmichael, and all the rest of the lords of secret council. On the same day the marquess proclaimed his majesty's pleasure that a free and general assembly should be indicted, kept, and holden at Glasgow on the 21st of November; and immediately after this, proclamation was made for a parliament to meet at Edinburgh upon the 15th of May, 1639. And a day or two after these proclamations the lords of the council published an act approving the king's discharge of the Service Book, Book of Canons, &c., and requiring all his majesty's subjects to subscribe the Confession of Faith as now offered to them.

The marquess, seeing that it would be impossible to prevent a rupture at Glasgow, advised Charles to hasten his warlike preparations. The Scottish bishops, though not averse to the hastening on of a war of religion, pressed Hamilton to put off the meeting of the general assembly. The marquess acquainted the king with their desire. Charles, in reply, told him that he should soon receive a particular answer from my Lord of Canterbury to all his propositions touching the assembly.* In another letter Charles spoke still more openly of the scheme he had arranged with Hamilton for sowing discord among the members of the assembly, and defeating their acts by protests. "As for the general assembly," writes the king, "though I can expect no good from it, yet I hope you may hinder much of the ill; first by putting divisions amongst them concerning the legality of their elections, then by protesting against their tumultuary proceedings." But in the leaders of the covenant Charles had to deal with enemies as wary or cunning as himself; and by this time, at the latest, the Scots were convinced that the questions at issue must be settled rather by a campaign

* Rushworth.

than by an assembly. Notwithstanding the waylaying of the posts, and the carrying of all letters to Secretary Coke, their friends in England contrived now and then to send them important advices. One of these, in relating the warlike preparations of Charles, gave an account of the sympathy of his English subjects. This skilful correspondent went on to inform the Scots, that Wentworth had made large offers of assistance to the king from Ireland,—some said an army of 16,000 men,—but he doubted the lord deputy's ability, seeing that that kingdom was itself in an unquiet state. The Earl of Antrim had been presented to the king as one having great power in Ireland; and shot for ordnance had been newly cast, and flat-bottomed boats prepared for the landing of men on the coast of Scotland. He says, "Wise men here do think that the king is resolved to hold you in all fair and promising ways of treaty, until he hath sufficiently fitted himself by provisions both of arms and men, and then you may look for no other language but what comes from the mouth of the cannon: be assured, if the king can bring it to this pass, he will; but most likely he will not be able: yet how far rewards, pensions, and the like, may prevail, either to separate you amongst yourselves, or otherways to hire a foreigner to come upon you (if his domestic subjects will not be drawn to it), it is hard to say; good wisdom, therefore, to be at a point quickly, whilst God preserves union amongst you."*

Although Charles had dismissed the bishops from the offices of the state, he had left them in the church; and the Covenanters held that episcopacy was incompatible with the existence of liberal institutions and the true worship of God,—a sentiment which was echoed beyond the Tweed. At the end of October the Earl of Rothes, in the name of the Covenanters, demanded a warrant for citing the bishops to appear as criminals before the general assembly at Glasgow. Hamilton replied that the law was open for citing all such as were either

* Lord Hailes, Memorials.

within the kingdom or without; but he declined giving the warrant, as being a thing without precedent: and it was enough, he said, that he did not protect them against trial. Upon this repulse the Covenanters addressed themselves to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who took upon them to issue warrants against the bishops.*

As one of the signs of his returning favour, Charles restored the session or term to his good town of Edinburgh. Hamilton having dealt with all the lords of the session beforehand, urged them to sign the King's Confession of Faith: two of these judges absented themselves, four positively refused, but at length nine of the fifteen signed; and from that moment they durst hardly walk the streets, for fear of being torn to pieces by the people. Charles remitted to the marquess the minutest instructions as to his deportment at the assembly, and perused and revised the opening speech which he was to deliver. Hamilton required the king's advocate to prepare himself to prove that episcopacy was according to the laws of Scotland; but the advocate answered that his conscience would not permit any such thing; that he judged episcopacy to be contrary both to the laws of Scotland and the laws of the church, and also to God's own word; and thereupon the advocate was "prevailed upon" not to attend the general assembly at all. On the 17th of November, the marquess arrived at Glasgow in a quiet and peaceable manner, none of his train carrying with them any prohibited arms. He there found letters and sundry protests from the bishops, who implored him to keep them secret, and to present them *seasonably*, before they or their cause should suffer any wrong from the assembly. The city of Glasgow being filled and thronged with all sorts of people, on the day appointed by the king's proclamation (the 21st of November, 1638), the general assembly began by listening to a very long sermon which occupied the whole forenoon. In the afternoon they would have proceeded to the choosing of a moderator, but Hamilton, who, as

* Rushworth.

king's commissioner, was seated upon a chair, "raised eminent above the rest," told them that there was something to do previously, and that was the reading of his commission, that it might be understood by what authority he sat there. The commission, in Latin, was accordingly read, and then the assembly would have again proceeded to the choice of their moderator; but the marquess again interrupted them, and desired that his majesty's letter to the general assembly should first be read; and this letter, which bore the date of the 29th of October, was read accordingly. It was very short. Charles told them that he was not ignorant that the best of his actions had been mistaken by many of his subjects in his ancient kingdom, as if he had intended innovation in religion and laws; yet, considering it to be the special duty of a Christian king to advance God's glory and the true religion, forgetting what was past, he had seriously taken into his princely consideration such particulars as might settle religion and satisfy all his good subjects of the sincerity of his intentions, and had therefore indicted this present free general assembly, appointing the marquess to attend the same.* When this reading was done, Hamilton stood up and made his opening speech. We blush for the unfortunate victim of loyalty, who knew all his master's insincerity, and who had advised or prescribed part of his conduct, when we find him pursuing his address in the following strain:—"For the professions which have been made by our sacred sovereign (whom God long preserve over us), I am come hither by his command, to make them good to his whole people, whom, to his grief, he hath found to have been poisoned (by whom I know not well, but God forgive them) with misconceits of his intentions concerning the religion professed in his church and kingdom. But, to rectify all such misconceptions of his subjects, his majesty's desire is, that, before this assembly proceed to anything else, his subjects may receive an ample and clear satisfaction in these points, wherein his majesty's gracious intentions have been mis-

* Rushworth.

doubted or glanced at by the malevolent aspects of such as are afraid that his majesty's good subjects should see his clear mind through any other glasses or spectacles than those they have tempered and fitted for them." He declared that the king his master was thoroughly sincere, intending nothing less than to keep religiously every promise he had made to his Scottish subjects; and that it was false, foul, and devilish, to doubt the sincerity of his intentions. Continuing, Hamilton said—"His majesty hath commanded me thus to express his heart to all his good subjects. He hath seriously considered all the grievances of his subjects, which have been presented to him by all and several of their petitions, remonstrances, and supplications exhibited unto himself, his commissioner, and lords of his secret council, and hath graciously granted them all; and as he hath already granted as far as could be by proclamation, so he doth now desire that his subjects may be assured of them by acts of this general assembly, and afterwards by acts of parliament respective."*

The noble marquess knew that while he was making these solemn assertions his master was preparing gunpowder and ball for his good subjects; and so also knew many of those whom he addressed. The assembly then proceeded to elect their moderator, but Hamilton stopped them with a protest, that their act should neither prejudice the king's prerogative nor the laws of the kingdom, nor bar the king from taking legal exceptions against the person elected or the irregularity of his election. After this delay they chose Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, in Fife, who in many essentials was the John Knox of the day. Hamilton would here have read his declinator or protest against their authority, but they proceeded to the election of a clerk-register.—The person chosen was Archibald Johnston, clerk of their Tables, at Edinburgh. Hamilton protested against his election, but the assembly adhered to their choice; and Johnston, after making a short speech, de-

* Rushworth.

claring that he was unworthy of the charge, yet would not be wanting to do his best for "the defence of *the prerogative* of the Son of God," began to perform the duties of clerk. On the following day Hamilton entered a fresh protest against the return of lay elders to the assembly. Charles had reflected deeply upon the jealousies likely to arise between laymen and clergy; and, as lay elders, who, at the Reformation, had attended all general assemblies, had been displaced by his father, he thought to make their election on the present occasion appear like an innovation. But the Lords of the Tables, who had organised this mighty resistance, were resolved not to trust entirely to the spirit and courage of the preachers; and, besides, they were not very anxious that the tyranny of the presbytery should be substituted for the tyranny of episcopacy. They had, therefore, taken care to preserve that part of the original constitution of the reformed national church, by which the laity were associated with the clergy in its government. Hereupon the proctor, or commissioner for the bishops, declined the jurisdiction of the assembly, as not being a purely ecclesiastical body. Regardless of this declinator, the assembly proceeded to open their accusation, the moderator Henderson, in a short speech, deploring the obstinacy of the bishops' hearts who had betrayed no sign of remorse and sorrow for their wicked courses. Hamilton, after insisting on the reading of their protest, called the charges a libel against the bishops, an infamous and scurrilous libel. On this one of the clerks of session thundered out a verbal protestation that they would pursue these charges against the bishops so long as they had lives and fortunes. Thereupon Hamilton protested in his turn, and discharged the bishops' proctor from giving appearance for the bishops before the assembly; and, finding the utter impossibility of shielding those prelates from the prosecution, he determined to dissolve the assembly on the very next day. In the course of this same day he wrote a memorable letter to the king, cursing his country for its non-compliance with his majesty's will. The sincerity of Hamilton has been

called in question, but we think upon insufficient grounds. The fact is, he was afterwards hated and calumniated by the royalists, who thought that he had done too little; and he was hunted to the scaffold by the parliamentarians and the Presbyterians, who felt that he had done too much.

“Most sacred Sovereign,” says the marquess, “when I consider the many great and most extraordinary favours which your majesty hath been pleased to confer upon me, if you were not my sovereign, gratitude would oblige me to labour faithfully, and that to the utmost of my power, to manifest my thankfulness. Yet so unfortunate have I been in this unlucky country, that, though I did prefer your service before all worldly considerations, nay, even strained my conscience in some points, by subscribing the negative confession, yet all hath been to small purpose; for I have missed my end in not being able to make your majesty as considerable a party as will be able to curb the insolency of this rebellious nation, without assistance from England, and greater charge to your majesty than this miserable country is worth. As I shall answer to God at the last day, I have done my best, though the success has proven so bad as I think myself of all men living most miserable, in finding that I have been so useless a servant to him to whom I owe so much. And, seeing this may perhaps be the last letter that ever I shall have the happiness to write to your majesty, I shall, therefore, in it discharge my duty so far as freely to express my thoughts in such things as I do conceive concerneth your service. . . . Upon the whole matter your majesty has been grossly abused by my lords of the clergy, by bringing in those things in this church not in the ordinary and legal way. For the truth is, this action of theirs is not justifiable by the laws of this kingdom; their pride was great, but their folly greater.” He proceeds to draw characters (not without point and smartness) of the principal bishops, ministers, and counsellors of Scotland. Of the bishops he frankly says,—“It will be found that some of them have not been of the best lives, as St. Andrews, Brechin, Argyle, Aberdeen; too many

of them inclined to simony." Of the ministers he shows that not one enjoys popularity, or is able and willing to carry the king through with his projects. He describes the Marquess of Huntley as being "not only popishly inclined, but even a direct Roman Catholic;" "but howsoever," continues Hamilton, "this I am sure of, since my coming here, he hath proved a faithful servant to you; and I am confident will be of greater use, when your majesty shall take arms in your hand." The Earl of Argyle, whom Charles had recently offended in a wilful manner, was the only man cried up in Scotland as a true patriot, a loyal subject, a faithful counsellor, and, above all, rightly set for the preservation of the purity of religion. With a correct estimate of Argyle's character and means, Hamilton goes on to say, "he must be well looked to; for it fears me he will prove the dangerouslest man in this state: he is so far from favouring episcopal government, that, with all his soul, he wishes it totally abolished." Of the men who were to ride upon the whirlwind and direct the storm, the letter says much. It names Montrose as being then the hottest of the Covenanters. "Now, for the Covenanters, I shall only say this in general,—they may all be placed in one roll as they now stand. But certainly, Sir, those that have both broached the business, and still hold it aloft, are Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudoun, Yester, Cranston. There are many others as forward in show; *amongst whom none more vainly foolish than MONTROSE*. But the above mentioned are the main contrivers. The gentry, burghs, and ministers have their ringleaders too. It will be too long to set down all their names." In the same remarkable letter Hamilton shows the king how he may best carry on the war against his Scots subjects, blockade their ports, and ruin their trade. But, in the meanwhile, all things are to be done covertly. The Scots are not to know that they are to be reduced to obedience by force of arms—they are to know nothing of the blow until it is struck. He observes that the presence of a commissioner or lord deputy in Scotland is indispensable; "where," he continues, "you will find a man I cannot

possibly say, unless your majesty send the Duke of Lennox: as for the Marquess of Huntley, certainly he may be trusted by you, but whether fitly or no, I cannot say. If I keep my life (*though next hell I hate this place*), if you think me worthy of employment, I shall not weary till the government be again set right; and then I will forswear this country. As for your majesty's castle of Edinburgh, it was a most shameful thing it should have been so neglected. I cannot promise that it shall be defended, yet I hope that they shall not take it but by an hostile act. Some few men I have stolen in, but, as yet, cannot get one musket put there, nor one yard of match. I have trusted, for a time, the same man that was in it, and perhaps your majesty will think this strange that I have done so; yet necessity forced me to it." He concludes the letter by more abuse of his native country. "I have now only this one suit to your majesty, that if my sons live they may be bred in England, and made happy by service in the court; and if they prove not loyal to the crown, my curse be on them. I wish my daughters be never married in Scotland. I humbly recommend my brother to your favour."*

The morning after writing this very un-Scottish letter to the king, Hamilton summoned the lords of the council and told them, with very little periphrasis, that he was necessitated to dissolve the assembly, and then tried hard to make them all concur with him as to the necessity. The Earl of Argyle asked if he, the lord commissioner, was to desire the Scottish council's approbation of what he intended, or not? The marquess replied that his instructions from his master were clear and positive, and therefore it was not in his power to permit any debate as to what he should do or not do, but he only desired their concurrence and advice as to the manner of doing it. After two hours of discourse, which elicited no clear advice from any member of the council, he proceeded to the church where the assembly sat. There he remained for some time a silent witness of their debates; but when

* Hardwicke State Papers.

they were about to put it to the vote, whether that assembly was not free and perfect, notwithstanding the bishops' protests, knowing well how the vote would run, he suddenly rose up, and, in a speech of great length and considerable eloquence—not wholly destitute of home-truths—in his majesty's name, dissolved them, and forbade their further proceedings, under pain of treason. Henderson, the moderator, and the Earl of Rothes, told him that they were sorry he was going to leave them, but their consciences bore them witness they had done nothing amiss, and therefore they would not desert the work of God; albeit, "in its due line and subordination they acknowledged their duty of obedience to the king." Hamilton then hastened back to the council. The Earl of Argyle told him in plain language that he would take the covenant and recognise the assembly; but most of the council pretended to be satisfied with the conduct of the marquess; and yet he durst not offer to their signature the proclamation for dissolving the assembly, for fear of a refusal, "not having tried them all in it beforehand." The next morning, however, he got them all to sign it, except Argyle, and then sent it to be read at the Market-cross at Glasgow. But again the Covenanters were ready with their protest, which was read and affixed immediately after it.

Hamilton now urged the king to complete his preparations. Laud, however, in a letter, dated the 7th of December, told him that "the jealousies of giving the Covenanters umbrage too soon had made preparations so late," but that he, the archbishop, had called, and was daily calling upon his majesty to make more haste. Laud was furious against the assembly. "Never," he says, "were there more gross absurdities, nor half so many, in so short a time committed in any public meeting; and, for a national assembly, never did the church of Christ see the like."*

* Rushworth.—In his letter Laud says, quaintly, that Mr. Alexander Henderson, "who went all this while for a quiet and well-spirited man, hath showed himself a most violent and passionate man, and a moderator without moderation."

Meanwhile the assembly continued its prosecution of the bishops. Upon the departure of Hamilton, the Earl of Argyle openly declared himself their head, and sat constantly with them in the assembly, not as a member, but as their chief director. In brief time they condemned all the Arminian tenets whatsoever,—declared episcopal government to be abolished for ever,—and passed many other acts of an equally sweeping character. Not satisfied with merely depriving the bishops, they excommunicated the greater part of them, together with the few preachers that adhered to them, and all their fautors or abettors.* In spite of Hamilton's real or affected dread of assassination, the Covenanters quietly allowed him to return to England, whither he went to direct the hostile preparations against them. Charles thundered out fresh proclamations, annulling all the proceedings of the assembly, which were met, as usual, by counter-protests. Nor were the Covenanters slower than the king in their military preparations. As early as the month of July they had made a magazine of pikes, halberts, and muskets. Early in December it was known that one Barnes, a merchant of Edinburgh, had brought some 6000 muskets out of Holland: the ship which carried these arms was stopped by the government of the United Provinces; but the King of France, the loving brother of Charles's queen, got the vessel freed and sent to a French port, as if the muskets were for his own use, and, from the French port, ship and arms were forwarded to Leith. The artillery of the kirk was louder than that of armies. One minister of repute declared that all Scotchmen who had not subscribed the covenant were atheists; another in his sermon wished that he and all the bishops were at sea together in a rotten boat, for he could be content to lose his own life so that the priests of Baal should perish. They refused the communion to such as had not subscribed their covenant, nor would they permit baptism to be administered by any but ministers of their own body. At the same time the supreme Table, or committee in Edinburgh,

* Lord Hailes, Memorials,

issued its instructions to the provincial Tables and presbyteries, all so thoroughly organized that the business was transacted with more than the regularity of an old government; every man of an age to bear arms was taught the use of them, drilled, and trained to the duties of a soldier; the Scottish officers, whom poverty or love of adventure, or the religious enthusiasm, had carried abroad to fight for the Dutch, for the Protestants of Germany, for the glorious Swede—the men who had grown grey in arms, who had witnessed and contributed to the dazzling victories of the Lion of the North—hastened back to their native hills and gave all the weight of their military experience to the popular party. The article in which Scotland had ever been most deficient was money; but on the present occasion, excited by their preachers, the citizens of Edinburgh and other towns gave in voluntary donations; the nobility in many instances sent their plate to be coined; the merchants settled in foreign countries, particularly in France and Holland, remitted specie, or ammunition, or arms. The worldly wise among them suggested that aid might be obtained from the Lutheran princes of Germany,—from the kings of France and Spain; but the preachers and the godly declared that it would be refusing the protection of Heaven, and leaning to the broken reed of Egypt, to accept assistance from heretics and Roman Catholics. Still, however, some of the leaders thought that some French money would do no harm to the cause, and it was secretly arranged with Richelieu that the French ambassador at London should pay 100,000 crowns to General Leslie, whom they had appointed their commander-in-chief.

A.D. 1639.—And in what state were the finances and the other means of the king? We are told very clearly by the Earl of Northumberland, in a letter addressed to Wentworth, and dated in the month of January:—"I assure your lordship, to my understanding, with sorrow I speak it, we are altogether in as ill a posture to invade others or to defend ourselves as we were a twelvemonth since, which is more than any man can imagine that is not an eye-witness of it. The discontents here at home

do rather increase than lessen, there being no course taken to give any kind of satisfaction. The king's coffers were never emptier than at this time, and to us that have the honour to be near about him, no way is yet known how he will find means either to maintain or begin a war without the help of his people."* By the beginning of the year Charles had named his captains and general officers, had issued orders to the lords-lieutenants to muster the trained bands of their several counties, had borrowed money from all that would lend, and suspended the payment of all pensions and allowances. On the 15th of February he addressed a letter to the nobility, telling them that the late disorders in Scotland, begun upon pretence of religion, were now grown to such a height that he had reason to take into his consideration the defence and safety of his kingdom of England; and therefore, upon consultation with his privy council (he did not even name a parliament), he had resolved to repair in his own royal person to the northern parts of this his kingdom, to resist any invasion that might happen. He added, "And withal [we] hereby do require you to attend our royal person and standard at our city of York, on the 1st day of April next ensuing, with such equipage and such forces as your birth, honour, and interest in the commonalty doth oblige you to, &c. And we do, and have reason to expect from you a performance hereof, and these our letters shall be as sufficient and effectual a warrant and discharge unto you to put yourself and such as shall attend you, into arms and order as aforesaid, as if you were authorized thereunto under our great seal of England."† He made an attempt, through the agency of Colonel Gage, to procure a foreign army of 6000 foot and 400 horse from the archduke, in return for which he engaged to permit the raising annually in Ireland recruits for the armies of Spain; but this negotiation failed because the archduke could not spare so many disciplined troops. He called upon the judges and lawyers and servants of the crown to contribute to the expenses of the

* Strafford Letters.

† Rushworth.

war out of their salaries ; and he required from many of the gentry payments to excuse their personal attendance in the campaign. The clergy of the establishment were tolerably liberal,—in some places exceedingly so,—for they considered the war, which some irreverently called a war about lawn sleeves, a holy war. The name of every clergyman who refused or was unable to contribute was especially certified and returned to Archbishop Laud. And while Laud and the king called upon the clergy and all good Protestants, the queen called upon all the English Catholics. We have already shown how the religious intolerance of the Puritans prevented the Catholics from becoming patriots. The latter were exceedingly well inclined to assist the king against the Scots, and, disregarding the danger they thereby incurred, they held a public meeting in London for the purpose of recommending all their brethren to subscribe. The pope's nuncio presided at this meeting, and thus more than ever gave a papistical character to the war.

The secret correspondence established between the Covenanters and the English patriots became closer and more active than ever : the Scots had friends and agents in London, in all the counties, in the army, and even in the very court : their counter-proclamations were circulated throughout England ; their proceedings in the general assembly, in council, and in the field, were all reported in the minutest detail to patient and sympathising auditors.* The silenced ministers—silent no longer—proclaimed that the Scots had begun the good fight ; and that it was the duty of every English subject that loved

* “ Their remonstrances, declarations, and pamphlets were dispersed, and their emissaries and agents insinuated into the company of all who were in any way discontented or galled at the proceedings of the state of England. The gentlemen who had been imprisoned for the loan, or distrained for the ship-money, or otherwise disobliged, had applications made to them from the Covenanters, and secretly favoured and assisted their designs ; so did many others, especially those inclined to the Presbyterian government, or whom the public proceedings had unwise distasted.”—*Whitelock*.

liberty and the true religion, to make common cause with them, instead of opposing them. Nor were Charles's endeavours to sow dissensions among the Scottish nobles who had taken the covenant attended with much more success. Even English gold lost its value in their eyes when put in the scale with religion; and it must be remembered Charles had not much gold to give. We possess many remarkable papers, both of a public and private nature, in which the Presbyterian ministers exhort the nobility to firmness and unanimity, and the nobles exhort one another to constancy in this great cause. Many of them are written with extraordinary power and eloquence.

It was the burning zeal and eloquence of men like these that kept the covenant together, and that impelled the people to daring and extreme acts. Without awaiting the attack of the king, they fell upon every castle and stronghold he possessed in Scotland, and took them all with the exception of Caerlaverock. As early as the month of March, before Charles had begun his journey to York, General Leslie, with a thousand musqueteers, surprised and took Edinburgh Castle without losing a single man. On the next day Dunbarton Castle, the second, or rather, in strength, the first fortress of the kingdom, was delivered over to the provost of the town, a zealous Covenanter; and the castle of Dalkeith, wherein were lodged the regalia, together with a store of ammunition and arms, was surrendered by Traquair, the lord treasurer.* The people, who were chiefly led in this enterprise by the Earls of Rothes and Balmerino, seized the crown, sceptre, and sword, and carried them away in great joy and triumph,—Traquair admits, with all the reverence they could show,—and deposited them in Edinburgh Castle. The Marquess of Huntley, who had undertaken to secure all the North for the king, had risen in arms; but 7000 men collected from the counties near the Tay, and commanded by Leslie and Montrose, soon overthrew him. Leslie forced the covenant upon the

* See Traquair's letter to the king, in Rushworth.

University of Aberdeen, and returned to Edinburgh, carrying Huntley with him as an hostage.

The Marquess of Hamilton was sent into the Frith of Forth with a considerable fleet and 5000 land troops. He had engaged to take Leith, the port of Edinburgh; but the Covenanters, well aware of his coming, had prepared him a hot reception. The fortifications of Leith had been much neglected: now volunteers of all ranks hurried to repair them; men of the noblest birth worked like masons on the bastions, and ladies assisted them in carrying materials. When Hamilton appeared, Leith was safe, and so was the capital, at least on that side. He reconnoitred both sides of the Frith, but saw no hopes of effecting a landing anywhere, for 20,000 armed men were distributed along the coasts, the sea-ports and inlets were protected by batteries, and he was soon fain to land his troops, which had already become very sickly and very mutinous, on the Isle of May and the other islets in the Frith, where there were no inhabitants, no enemies to encounter, but Solan geese and other sea-fowl. Here, again, great pains have been taken to prove that Hamilton was betraying the king. It is said, for example, that he was holding a secret correspondence with the Covenanters,—that he received a visit from his mother, herself a rigid Covenanter, which caused the rest to believe that the son of such a mother would do them no harm. But it appears to us that Hamilton, who had never shown any great military talent, and who was leading a small and wretched force, which had been pressed and carried on board ship as soon as caught, was really not in a condition to do much more than he did. On the 27th of March, the anniversary of his coronation, Charles began his journey northward, travelling in a coach with the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Holland. On the 30th he arrived at York, where the nobility attended with their armed retinues according to his summons, and where Sir Thomas Widderington, the recorder, delivered to him a most fulsome speech, telling him that he had established his throne upon two columns of diamond, namely, piety and justice—the one of which

gave him to God, the other to men,—and that all his subjects were most happy between the two columns. “This king’s good-nature,” says a somewhat ill-natured historian, “never more appeared than in his necessities; so that when he came to York, by proclamation he recalled thirty-one monopolies and patents, formerly granted by him, he not before understanding how grievous they were to his subjects.”* Whitelock says that these grants and patents which Charles had formerly passed, to the great grievance of his people, were mostly in favour of Scotchmen. He also at York exacted an oath from all the nobility and officers about him, whether Scotch or English, that they would be faithful and obedient, that they abhorred all rebellions, and more especially such as rose out of religion, and that they had not and would never have any correspondence or intelligence with the rebellious Covenanters. On the 29th of April the king took his farewell of York, telling the recorder and the municipal authorities in set speech, that he had never found the like true love from the city of London, to which he had given so many marks of his favour. At Durham he was welcomed by the bishop, who feasted his majesty for some time. At every resting-place he was joined by a certain number of horse and foot, levied in those parts; but the progress was more illustrious than the march, and the soldiers were the least part of the army, and least consulted with. From the time he advanced to the right bank of the Tweed, and encamped with his army in an open field near Berwick, some days were spent in reviews and parades, and altercations and quarrels among the leaders. He had chosen to make the Earl of Arundel, the bashaw, his general—“a man,” says Clarendon, “who was thought to be made choice of for his negative qualities. He did not love the Scots; he did not love the Puritans; which qualifications were allayed by another negative—he did not love any body else; but he was fit to keep the state of it; and his rank was such that no

* R. Coke.

man would decline the serving under him.”* The lieutenant-general was the Earl of Essex, one of the most popular men in the kingdom and the darling of the soldiery. The Earl of Holland, “a man fitter for a show than a field,” was general of the horse. The latter force was estimated at 3260, the infantry at 19,614, without counting the foot companies under Hamilton, or the two garrisons at Berwick and Carlisle, and there was an abundant supply of warlike stores and a good train of artillery. To the eye, all this formed an imposing force, but there was disaffection and contrariety of opinion at head-quarters, and the majority of the men were altogether averse to the war and to the system which had produced it.

On the other side the Scots were unanimous, and Leslie, as a commander, was certainly superior to any of the English generals. Having secured the country behind them, he boldly advanced to the Borders, and on the 30th of May he took up a position within a few miles of Charles’s camp. Thence, that the English people might have no jealousy of an invasion, he issued proclamations, repeating that the Scots had no intention of doing harm,—had every wish to do good,—that they implored the good opinion of their brethren in England, and that, for the present, they would not cross the frontier line of their own country. At first, when Leslie arrived at Dunglas, and Monroe at Kelso, they scarcely had between them 8000 men, but they were reinforced every day, the preachers being the best of recruiting serjeants. They called upon every true Scot, in the name of God and his country, to seek the enemies of their king, as well as of themselves, the prelates, and papists; they denounced the curse of Meroz against all who came not to the help of the Lord and his champions. They had chosen for the motto on their new banners, “For Christ’s crown and the Covenant;” and as Charles hesitated and wavered, they were allowed time to collect 20,000 men under this ensign.

At last, on Monday, the 3rd of June, the Earl of Hol-

* Hist.

land, "that ill-chosen general of the English horse," crossed the Tweed near Twisell,—once famed for a more heroic warfare,*—to fall upon the division of the Scots that lay at Kelso. He took with him nearly all the cavalry and 3000 foot, but he left the infantry three miles behind him. When he reached Maxwellheugh, a height above Kelso, he perceived what he considered or affected to consider a very great army, advantageously posted. The Scots threw out 150 horse and 5000 or 6000 foot to bar his farther progress. Holland thereupon sent them a trumpet, commanding them to retreat, and not cross the Borders, which they had promised not to do by proclamation. They asked whose trumpet this was? The man said, my Lord Holland's. Then, said the Covenanters, he had better begone; and so my Lord Holland made his retreat, and waited upon his majesty to give this account.† In fact, during this march and counter-march, the English soldiers, who behaved as they had never done before, scarcely drew a sword or fired a musket or a carbine. Charles now began to perceive that the nobility and gentry of England were not inclined to invade Scotland at all, and a morning or two after he was alarmed for his own camp by the closer approach of Leslie. The Lord-General Arundel blamed the scout-master; the scout-master blamed the soldiers that were sent out as scouts, and brought in no intelligence. Charles, in a hurry, threw up some works to cover his camp, intending, with the advice of many of his council, to keep himself there upon the defensive; but already the men were complaining that the biscuit was mouldy, and drink altogether wanting; that they could get nothing out of Scotland except a few lambs. On the 6th of June a Covenant trumpet, and the Earl of Dunfermline, arrived at the Royal camp, with a humble petition to his Majesty, entreating him to appoint some few, of the many

* See the account of the battle of Flodden Field, vol. vi. p. 94. and Scott's 'Marmion.'

† Letter of Sir Henry Vane (senior) to Hamilton, in Rushworth.

worthy men of the kingdom of England, to meet with some few of them (the Scottish leaders), that they might the better know their humble desires, and make known his Majesty's pleasure, so that all mistakings might be speedily removed, and the two kingdoms kept in peace and happiness. Before this, the Covenanters had addressed separate letters to the three English generals, Arundel, Essex, and Holland. Clarendon says, that "the Earl of Essex, who was a punctual man in point of honour, received the address superciliously enough, sent it to the king without returning any answer, or holding any conference, or performing the least ceremony with or towards the messengers."* But, according to the same narrator and to other authorities of different parties, Arundel, and, still more, Holland, gave a very different reception to the letters they received, and forthwith became pressing advocates for an immediate accommodation with the Covenanters. To Dunfermline's petition Charles at first gave an answer, signed by Secretary Coke; the lords of the Covenant returned it, humbly entreating that his majesty would sign the answer to their petition with his own hand, for, although they themselves did not mistrust his majesty's word signified to them by the secretary, yet the people and army would not suffer their deputies to come without his majesty's own hand and warrant. Charles then signed the paper, and on the 11th of June, the deputies of the Covenanters arrived at the royal camp, where they were received in the lord-general's tent by the English commissioners whom Charles had selected to treat with them. The Scottish deputies were the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, the Lord Loudon, and Sir William Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale, to whom were afterwards added, sorely against the king's inclination, the leading minister, Alexander Henderson, late moderator of the general assembly, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, the clerk register; the king's commissioners were the Earls of Essex, Holland, Salis-

* Hist.

bury, and Berkshire, Sir Henry Vane, and Mr. Secretary Coke. But when they were ready to begin their conference, Charles came unexpectedly among them, took his seat, and told the Scottish deputies that he was informed that they complained they could not be heard; that, therefore, he was now come to hear what they would say, and to take the negotiation upon himself. The Earl of Rothes, speaking for the Covenanters, said, that they only wished to be secured in their religion and liberty. Lord Loudon began to offer an apology for their brisk manner of proceeding, but Charles interrupted him, and told him that he would admit of no excuse or apology for what was past; but if they came to implore for pardon, they should set down their desires in writing, and in writing they should receive his answer. In the course of the negotiation several attempts were made at overreaching the Scots, but the Covenanters, without any pretension to the meekness of the dove, had certainly the wisdom of the serpent. Hamilton arrived at the camp, and hastened, it is said, the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed by Charles, on the 18th of June, and published, with a royal declaration, in the Covenanters' camp, on the 20th. The articles agreed upon were few, and some of them loosely expressed. The king, though he could not condescend to ratify and approve the acts of what he called the pretended General Assembly, was pleased to confirm whatsoever his commissioner had granted and promised, and to leave all matters ecclesiastical to be determined by the assembly of the kirk, and all matters civil by the parliament and other inferior judicatures. The assemblies of the kirk were to be kept once a year, or as often as might be agreed upon by the general assembly; and for settling the general distractions of the kingdom, it was appointed, that a free general assembly should meet at Edinburgh, on the 6th day of August, and that the parliament for ratifying what should be concluded in the said assembly, and for settling such other things as might conduce to the peace and good of the kingdom, should be held at Edinburgh, on the 20th day of August, and that therein

an act of oblivion should be passed. It was agreed that the troops, on both sides, should be recalled and disbanded; that his majesty's castles, forts, ammunitions of all sorts, and royal honours, should be delivered up to the king, who, thereupon, was to withdraw his fleet and cruisers, and deliver up whatever Scottish goods and ships, or whatever else, had been taken from them. The king stipulated that there should be no meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations of the lieges, but such as were warranted by act of parliament; and he agreed to restore to all his good subjects of Scotland their liberties, privileges, &c. &c. Not a word was said by the king touching the abolition of episcopacy. By his express orders the term bishop was never introduced. He still clung to Laud and the hierarchy; and, as usual, he was anxious to say as little as possible in a pacification which he made with the most unpleasant of feelings, and which he was fully determined to break as soon as possible. The Covenanters more than suspected his meaning and intentions, and both parties openly betrayed their mutual distrust before the ink was dry on the parchment: the two armies, however, were disbanded by the 24th of June, when his majesty took up his quarters in the town of Berwick. He summoned fourteen of the principal Covenanters to attend him, but they declined the dangerous honour, fearing the Tower of London. They sent however the Earls of Lothian, Loudon, and Montrose, the last of whom appears to have been lost to the Covenant and gained by the king from that moment. While at Berwick, Charles decided about the high commissioner to be sent into Scotland to open the parliament, &c., for he was anxious to get back to the south, where he had left many fiery spirits, and Wentworth had again warned him, after "so total a defection as had appeared in that people," not to go to them himself; or, to use my lord-deputy's expression, "not to trust his own sacred person among the Scots over early, if at all." It is said, that his majesty greatly pressed the Marquess of Hamilton to go upon that employment once more, and that the marquess implored to

be excused. After the affair of Dalkeith and his easy losing or surrendering the regalia, it could hardly have been expected that Traquair should be named commissioner, yet he was the man appointed to succeed Hamilton, and represent the king. Charles then took post at Berwick, and rode to London in four days, arriving there on the 1st of August.

Traquair's instructions passed the seal on the 6th of August, when he was immediately despatched to meet the general assembly at Edinburgh. That convocation opened on the 12th of August, every member of it having previously bound himself by an oath to support the acts of the late assembly at Glasgow. Traquair's instructions from the king were very artfully conceived, but it was scarcely possible that they should have much effect upon such a body of men as these Covenanters. Charles had written to the dispersed and afflicted Scottish bishops, to assure them that it should be his chief care to establish their church aright, and repair their losses, and to advise them to enter into a formal protest against the proceedings of this assembly and parliament, which he promised "to take into consideration, as a prince sensible of his own interest and honour, joined with the *equity* of their desires." * But in his instructions to Traquair, he consented that episcopacy should be utterly abolished in Scotland, for satisfaction of the people, provided that the act of abolition should be so conceived and worded, that episcopacy should not be called a point of popery, or contrary to God's law, or the Protestant religion, but merely contrary to the constitution of the church of Scotland. The bishops, or at least seven of them, signed a protest, and got it presented to the lord commissioner by a mean person, as the king had desired. They called the Covenanters refractory, schismatical, and perjured men, having no office in the church of God, who had filthily resiled, and so made themselves to the present and future ages most infamous, &c The Covenanters, however, wanted

* See the king's letter, in Rushworth.

no fresh provocation to go lustily to work. Without naming the Glasgow assembly, they adopted and confirmed all its acts, whether against the bishops, service-book, book of penance, or high commission.

But the king was all this while preparing measures for a new war, which he flattered himself would be conducted with better success. The Covenanters had kept their agreement in giving up the fortresses; they had surrendered Edinburgh castle, and twenty other castles; and Patrick Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Brentford, the new governor for the king, was getting artillery, ammunition, arms, and men into Edinburgh Castle, and repairing the breaches which time rather than war had made. Charles commanded Traquair to take in general the like care of all his houses and forts in that kingdom; and likewise to advertise all such who were affected to his service, that they might secure themselves in good time. The Scottish parliament met on the day appointed, the 20th of August, and consented that for that time Traquair, as commissioner, should name those lords of articles that had formerly been named by the bishops; but they protested that this should be no precedent for the future, and they went on roundly to remove the lords of articles totally, as a body of necessity at all times subservient to the crown. Charles knew that their project, if effected, would wholly emancipate the Scottish parliament from the shackles and trammels which had been imposed upon it, chiefly by his own father, and he had declared that he would never give up his prerogative on this point. Traquair saw no other means than the dangerous one of stopping proceedings by a prorogation, and accordingly he prorogued parliament on the 14th of November. The Covenanters protested against the legality of any prorogation without consent of parliament (and in fact the principle differed from the English). They, however, rose quietly after entering this protest, and sent up a commission, headed by the Lords Dunfermline and Loudon, to wait upon the king. When these deputies arrived at Whitehall they were rudely asked

whether they had any warrant from the king's commissioner; and, as they had none, they were in disdain commanded home again without audience or any access to majesty. The return of these noblemen to Scotland was soon followed by the summoning of Traquair to court. This nobleman, by royal instructions, had in many respects been playing a double part; and, as invariably happens in such cases, his employers had become jealous and doubtful of his real feelings and intention. But he averted Charles's wrath from himself by producing a letter secretly addressed by several lords of the Covenant to the King of France, and imploring his protection. This letter had been written before the late pacification at Berwick, and addressed "Au Roy." It bore the signatures of seven lords; but the address, which in itself was made matter of treason, was in a different hand from the body of the letter, and the thing had never been sent, evidently through the aversion of the ministers and the mass of the Covenanters. At the same time Traquair told the king that it was impossible to prevail with the Scots except by force or a total compliance; and having, as he fancied, furnished the king with grounds for justifying such a proceeding, he recommended him to take up arms again without loss of time.

The Covenanters then again sent up the Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline. Loudon was instantly seized, and examined touching the letter "Au Roy." The Scottish lord said that it was written before the late agreement, and never sent; that, if he had committed any offence in signing it, he ought to be questioned for it in Scotland, and not in England: nor would he make any other answer or confession, but, insisting upon the king's safe-conduct which had been given to him for this journey, he demanded liberty to return. Charles sent him to the Tower of London. This effectually stopped the arrival of any more Scottish commissioners; but it was evident to both parties that they must again take the field; and the Covenanters, by more secret agents, concerted measures with the patriots and the disaffected of

all classes. Secret councils were held in London, and a coalition of all the various sections of the discontented was effected.

But every proceeding of government was now a failure, and every failure caused fierce dissensions amongst the cabinet ministers and the chief officers of the crown ; every one laboured to exonerate himself at the cost of his comrades. This is one of the saddest and surest indications of a nation's decay. Almost as soon as the pacification of Berwick was signed, all of the English party engaged in it were irritated and ashamed ; and the king himself, according to Clarendon, " was very melancholic, and quickly discerned that he had lost reputation at home and abroad ; and those counsellors who had been most faulty, either for want of courage or wisdom (for at that time few of them wanted fidelity), never afterwards recovered spirit enough to do their duty, but gave themselves up to those who had so much overwitted them ; every man shifting the fault from himself, and finding some friends to excuse him. And it being yet necessary that so infamous a matter should not be covered with absolute oblivion, it fell to Secretary Coke's turn (for whom nobody cared), who was then near fourscore years of age, to be made the sacrifice ; and upon pretence that he had omitted the writing what he ought to have done, and inserted somewhat he ought not to have done, he was put out of his office."* Old Coke, the scapegoat, was succeeded by Sir Harry Vane, previously treasurer of the household, who, as Clarendon, Warwick, and other writers of that party maintain, became secretary of state through the queen's too powerful influence and the dark contrivance of the Marquess of Hamilton.

During his inglorious campaign, Charles was in constant correspondence with Wentworth, who had given him better advice than he would take, and who continued raising and organizing ten thousand Irish troops, for service in Scotland, even after the pacification. Not long after his return from the Tweed, " as if the oracle of

* Hist.

Delphos had been to be consulted, he sent for his great Lord Deputy of Ireland." Wentworth came, but "instead of being made a dictator, he found himself but one of a triumvirate," being joined with Archbishop Laud and Hamilton, neither of whom had lost one particle of the king's favour and confidence. Although he had not come very willingly, apprehending danger to himself,—and although he was hampered by Hamilton, the more timid of his colleagues, and by the queen, who could never agree with him,—Wentworth imparted a new vigour to the king's councils: he recommended a loan among the great lords and officers of the crown, and urged a war with the Covenanters, which he was to manage, and the instant issuing of writs of ship-money to the amount of 200,000*l*. With his old confidence in his own power of seducing, deceiving, or terrifying a parliament, in a blind forgetfulness of the difference between English parliaments and Irish parliaments, he ventured to recommend the calling of one. This resolution was adopted in a committee, consisting of Archbishop Laud, Bishop Juxon, the Earl of Northumberland, the Marquess of Hamilton, Cottington, Windebank, and Vane. Charles, upon finding the committee unanimous, put this significant question,—“If this parliament should prove as untoward as some have lately been, will you then assist me in such *extraordinary ways* as in that extremity shall be thought fit?” They all promised to assist him, and then Charles reluctantly agreed that a parliament should be called. But Wentworth thought it would be well to try an Irish parliament beforehand; and Charles consented that there should be an Irish parliament also. To reward his past services, and to give him additional weight and splendour, the king now bestowed on him that earldom for which he had so long been sighing, and, instead of Lord Deputy, named him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. On the 12th of January 1640, Wentworth became Earl of Strafford; and on the 17th of March he obtained from the trembling Irish parliament a grant of four subsidies, with a promise of two more if they should

be found necessary; and by the middle of April, in spite of a distressing and most painful malady, he was back at court, to show Charles how to manage his English House of Commons and his Scottish Covenanters.

At last, on the 13th day of April, 1640, an English parliament assembled at Westminster. The king opened the session with a very brief speech, in which, however, he admitted (what every body knew) that nothing but necessity had induced him to call them together. Then Sir John Finch, formerly Speaker of the Commons, but now lord keeper, delivered a very long speech, in which he endeavoured, above all things, to convince them that the Scots had grossly insulted and injured the English nation, as well as their sovereign—"the most just, the most pious, the most gracious king that ever was, whose kingly resolutions were seated in the ark of his sacred breast." All that had happened through Charles's persisting in not calling together, or agreeing with, the representatives of his people,—the extorting of money by illegal means, the torturing of the subject, the disgraces sustained by the national arms at home and abroad, the flames in Scotland which had almost severed the two kingdoms,—was so glaring, that it required all the audacity of a Finch to make the king's disuse of parliaments a subject of panegyric, and that to a parliament itself. The lord keeper told them that, in former times, indeed, they had been advised with for the preventing and diverting of foreign and domestic dangers; "but herein," said he, "his majesty's great wisdom and providence hath for many years eased you of that trouble; his majesty having all the while not only seen and prevented our danger, but kept up the honour and splendour of the English crown, of which at this day we find the happy experience." Everything, he maintained, had gone on happily and gloriously until some men of Belial had blown the trumpet in Scotland, and induced a rebellious multitude to take up arms against the Lord's anointed. He related the events of last summer's campaign, telling them that his majesty had entered into pacification with the Scots not through fear or weakness, but out of

his piety and clemency. "*This summer,*" says Finch, "must not be lost like the last, nor any minute of time unbestowed to reduce those of Scotland; lest by our delay they gain time to conclude their treaties with foreign states. . . . Such is the straitness of time, that unless the subsidies be forthwith passed, it is not possible to put in order such things as must be prepared before so great an army can take the field." Finch concluded by telling them that they must pass a bill, granting tonnage and poundage from the commencement of his majesty's reign, vote the subsidies *instantly*, and accept his majesty's promise, who was most graciously pleased to give them his royal word, that afterwards he would allow them time to consider of such petitions as they might conceive to be for the good of the commonwealth, assuring them that his majesty would go along with them in redressing just grievances, like a just, a pious, and gracious king. The king himself then produced the letter of the Scottish lords to the French king, and said, "My Lords, you shall see he hath spoken nothing hyperbolically, nor nothing but what I shall make good one way or other. And because he did mention a letter, by which my subjects in Scotland did seek to draw in foreign power for aid, here is the original letter, which I shall command him to read unto you. And because it may touch a neighbour of mine, whom I will say nothing of but that which is just,—God forbid I should; for my part I think it was never accepted of by him: indeed it was a letter to the French king, but I know not that ever he had it; for *by chance I intercepted it* as it was going unto him; and therefore I hope you will understand me right in *that*." Charles then delivered the letter to Finch, who observed, "The superscription of the letter is this,—'Au Roy.' For the nature of this superscription, it is well known to all that know the style of France that it is never written by any Frenchman to any but their own king, and therefore, being directed 'Au Roy,' it is to their own king, for so in effect they do by that superscription acknowledge." He then read the letter as translated into English from

the original French, which ran thus :— “ Sir—Your majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentlemen, Mr. Colvil, by him to represent unto your majesty the candour and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings as of our intentions, which we desire should be engraven and written to the whole world, with the beams of the sun, as well as to your majesty. We most humbly beseech you, therefore, to give faith and credit to him and all he shall say on our part concerning us and our affairs, being most assured of an assistance equal to your accustomed clemency heretofore, and so often showed to this nation, which will not yield to any other whatsoever the glory to be eternally your majesty’s most humble, obedient, and affectionate servants. (Signed) Rothes, Montrose, Leslie, Marr, Montgomery, Loudon, Forester.”* Then the king added, “ Of these gentlemen, who have set their hands to this letter, here is one, and I believe you would think it very strange if I should not lay him fast; and therefore I have signed a warrant to lay him close prisoner in the Tower. My lords, I think (but that I will not say positively, because I will not say anything here but what I am sure of) I have the gentleman that should have carried the letter fast enough; but I know not, I may be mistaken.”

When the king had thus spoken, the lord keeper dismissed the Commons to their own House, there to make choice of their Speaker. In the Lower House were many of the patriots, or, as the king had styled them, “ the vipers,” that had so disturbed his equanimity in the last parliament; but one of the greatest and highest-minded was not there. Of those who had been cast into prison, all had been liberated upon bail, after a detention of about eighteen months, with the single exception of the

* Besides this letter, it is possible that Charles knew, at least in part, the other negotiations between the Covenanters and the French court.—Lord Hailes (Memorials) has published a letter from General Leslie and the Earl of Rothes to the French king, and also instructions from the Covenanters in Scotland to their messenger to Louis. The letter, it

bold and eloquent Sir John Eliot, the man whom Charles most hated or feared. When he had lain four years in the Tower, the patriot's health began to decline rapidly, and his friends prevailed upon him to petition the king. To this petition, which was presented by the hand of the lieutenant of the Tower, Charles's only answer was,—“It is not humble enough.” Then Eliot sent another petition by his own son, expressing his hearty sorrow for having displeased his majesty, and humbly beseeching him once again to command the judges to set him at liberty; and when he had recovered his health he might return back to his prison, there to undergo such punishment as God had allotted him. The lieutenant of the Tower took offence at his sending the petition by another hand than his; but he told him, that if he would humble himself before his majesty, acknowledging his fault, he would deliver another petition for him. Sir John, thanking him for his friendly advice, told him that his spirits had grown feeble and faint,—that when he recovered his former vigour he might think about it. Cottington, Wentworth, and others exulted over the intelligence that Sir John was very like to die,—and die he did, a prisoner in the Tower, on the 27th of November, 1632! But Charles's revenge was not satisfied by mournful decay, a perishing by inches, nor by death itself. One of his victim's sons petitioned his majesty, that he would be pleased to permit the body of their father to be carried into Cornwall, there to be buried, in his native soil, among his ancestors. Charles wrote at the foot of the petition, “Let Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died;” and accordingly it was thrust into an obscure corner of the Tower church.* Sir Edward Coke had gone to his

appears, was not sent, because the rest of the Covenanting leaders refused to sign or sanction it. There are several striking passages in the instructions, but nothing very treasonable.

* Harl. MSS.—Forster's lives of British Statesmen.—Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden.

grave about two years after Eliot, full of years and honours, having effaced the recollection of his early career by his manly struggles on the patriotic side. He also, in a manner, had been persecuted to the death.

It has been said and proved that, on the whole, this present House of Commons was well disposed towards the king's service, and as little influenced by their many wrongs as any man of ordinary judgment could expect; yet there were undoubtedly many faithful, affectionate, and bold hearts that burned and flamed with the memory of the wrongs done to Eliot. And foremost among these was his bosom friend Hampden, who had taken his seat for the town of Buckingham. The most conspicuous of the other old members were Denzil Hollis, Maynard, Oliver St. John, Pym, Strode, Corriton, Hayman, Harselrig, and OLIVER CROMWELL, who now sat for the town of Cambridge.

The Commons, who knew what the king's word was worth, resolved not to take it, or to depart from their old practice of making the redress, or at least the discussion, of grievances precede their votes of supply. They took up the question of religion, privileges of parliament, abuse of justice, and the infringement of the common liberties of the land, and, as formerly, they settled committees for examining these high matters. Some of them had suggested the petitioning of parliament against the impost of ship-money; several petitions from the counties were consequently received, and the practice of petitioning, a progress in constitutional liberty, began to be common. Arthur Capel delivered in the first petition, which was from the freeholders of the county of Hertford, complaining of ship-money, monopolies, the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, &c. The first who stood up boldly to speak was Harbottle Grimston. Harbottle Grimston was followed by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who congratulated the House on their being called together:—"We are here," he said, "by the blessing of God and our king. Parliaments have of late days become unfortunate; it is our duty, by our good temper and carriage, to restore them to their ancient lustre. . . .

A parliament is the bed of reconciliation between king and people, and therefore, it is fit for us to lay aside all exasperations, and carry ourselves with humility." And it must be confessed that, though firm and decided, their whole tone and carriage was humble and respectful. The House on the following day (April 17th) fell again upon the subject of grievances in general, in consequence of petitions brought in by the members for Essex, Suffolk, and other counties; and upon that day the learned and laborious Pym delivered a speech of extraordinary length and still more extraordinary ability. "The first of grievances," said he, "are those which, during this interval of eleven years, have been directed against the liberties and privileges of parliament. . . I will show that the permission of them is as prejudicial to his majesty as to the commonwealth. I will show what way they may be remedied, and in all these I shall take care to maintain the great prerogative of royalty, which is, that the king can do no wrong." And throughout his discourse, he steadily kept the line which separates the king from his ministers, urging the responsibility of the latter. On the next day, the 18th, many members spoke, and the House voted that the proceedings remaining upon record in the King's Bench and Court of Star Chamber against Sir John Eliot, Mr. Hollis, and the other imprisoned members of the parliament of 1628 should be sent for and referred to a committee. They also ordered that the records in the case of ship-money, which concerned Mr. Hampden, should be brought into the House. On Monday the 20th, after examining the conduct of Sir John Finch in the last parliament, they resolved that it was a breach of privilege for the Speaker not to obey the commands of the House; and that it appeared the Speaker, Finch, did adjourn the House, by command of the king, without consent of the House, which also was a breach of privilege, and one that ought to be presented to his majesty. The very next day Charles, irritated as much as ever with the most moderate mention of the word grievance, summoned both Houses before him in the Banqueting Hall. He did not

speak himself, but stood by, while my Lord Keeper Finch schooled the Commons. Finch told them that they ought to remember the causes of calling this parliament, which were for obtaining of assistance and supplies of money; that such and so great were his majesty's necessities that if they did not vote the supplies speedily they might as well not vote them at all.* Once more the lord keeper recommended to their admiration, and their imitation, the conduct of Wentworth's browbeaten Irish parliaments. "For his kingdom of Ireland," said he, "the last parliament before this, the very second day of the parliament they gave him six subsidies; they relied upon his gracious word, and the success was, that before the end of that parliament they had all they did desire granted." [The truth being, as the reader will remember, that as soon as the money was voted, Wentworth and Charles broke all their promises, and refused to entertain the question of grievances.†]

But the Commons would not be cajoled; and, on the following day, when Finch's speech in the Banqueting House came to be discussed, Edmund Waller, the poet, a member of the House, and of many succeeding parliaments, eloquently claimed precedence of grievances over supplies. "Look back," said Waller, "upon the best parliaments, and still you shall find that the last acts passed are for the gifts of subsidies on the people's part, and general pardons on the king's part: even the wisest kings have first acquainted their parliaments with their designs, and the reasons thereof; and *then* demanded the assistance both of their counsels and purses: . . . Nor shall we ever discharge the trust of those that sent us hither, or make them believe that they contribute to their own defence and safety, unless his majesty be pleased first to restore them to the propriety in their own goods and lawful liberties, whereof they esteem themselves now

* "For," said the lord keeper, "the army is now marching, and doth stand his majesty in at least 100,000*l.* a month."

† See Ante, pp. 135, 136.

out of possession. One need not tell you that the propriety of goods is the mother of courage, and the nurse of industry; it makes us valiant in war, and good husbands in peace. The experience I have of former parliaments, and my present observation of the care the country has had to choose persons of worth and courage, make me think this House, like the Spartans, whose forward valour required some softer music to allay and quiet their spirits, too much moved with the sound of martial instruments. 'Tis not the fear of imprisonment, or (if need be) of death itself, that can keep a true-hearted Englishman from the care to leave this part of his inheritance as entire to posterity as he received it from his ancestors." In the afternoon the Commons sent up to desire a conference with the Lords; but their messengers found the door of the Lords closed against them. On the following day the Lords sent a message to excuse their refusal, upon the grounds of having had weighty business on hand, and his majesty present among them. In fact, Charles had gone down to the House of Lords and taken them by surprise, in order to induce them to interfere about the moneys; and it appears that the Commons had sent to request the conference at the moment they did, in order to show that they were aware of this visit. On Saturday the Lords desired a conference with the Commons, and, on the Monday following, Mr. Herbert, the queen's solicitor-general, reported the matter of the conference, which was mainly about the quickening speech which the king had delivered during his sudden visit to the Lords. This speech was a studied laudation of the Peers, and an angry rebuke of the Commons. Charles gave the Lords to understand that the necessity of his affairs would bear no delay; that he must have the subsidies; that he thought that, in civility and good manners, it was fit for him to be trusted first; that the Commons considering their grievances before his wants was putting the cart before the horse; that the war was begun: that the men of Scotland had pitched their tents at Dunse, and threatened an invasion in Northumberland, having already taken prisoners some English troopers.

There followed the old promises and assurances about religion, tonnage and poundage, and ship-money. And now the Lords told the Commons, that, having the word of a king—and, as some of their lordships were pleased to say, not only of a king, but a *gentleman*—they would no more be guilty of distrusting him, than they would be capable of the highest undutifulness towards him. And upon all these considerations, though their lordships would not meddle with matters of subsidy, which belonged properly and naturally to the Commons,—no, not so much as to give advice herein,—yet, being members of one body, subjects of the same king, and equally concerned in the nation's safety, in their duty to his majesty, and in their natural love to their country, themselves and their posterity, they had declared and voted in their own House that they held it most necessary and fit that the matter of supply should have precedence of every other matter or consideration whatsoever. The Commons, after long debate, resolved, that herein the Lords had violated the privileges of their House; and they immediately referred the matter to a committee, which declared that the Lords' voting about supplies was a most grievous breach of privilege. They then demanded another conference, and having obtained it, they insisted, not only that the Lords should never meddle with matter of supplies, but also that they should not take notice of anything debated by the Commons, until they themselves should declare the same to their Lordships—a rule, they said, which the Commons would always observe with their Lordships' proceedings. The Lords protested that they had no intention whatever of invading any of the privileges of the Commons; but the court soon determined again to put the Upper House in a false position.

Upon Thursday, the 30th of April, the Lower House resolved into a grand committee concerning ship-money, upon a full report made of that business by Mr. Maynard. In the very midst of this debate—and of course expressly to stop it—the Lords sent to demand another conference. The majority of the members seemed unwilling to be diverted from the debate; and upon a division, in a very

full house, 257 voted *against*, and 148 *for* a present conference. The conference was put off till the morrow, and they proceeded with the grand business of ship-money. On the following day the Lord Keeper Finch, at the conference, told the Commons again that their Lordships well knew and infinitely respected the privileges of their House; that they had only stepped forward out of affection to his majesty, and consideration of the great evils and calamities that were hanging over their heads, &c. Finch then endeavoured to shew that the Lords were bound to gratify the king, and that their voting the precedency of supply was no infringement of the Commons' privilege. The whole of this speech had a most mischievous effect, and, notwithstanding its disclaimers, the Commons suspected that all their other privileges were to be swallowed up, and they made wholly subservient to the peers.* On Saturday, the 2nd of May, Charles sent Sir Henry Vane, now secretary of state as well as treasurer of the household, to tell them that the danger of the nation would be greatly increased if more time were lost; that he had received no answer at all from them, though he had already told the House that delay would be as destructive as a denial; that he once more desired an immediate answer concerning his supplies, he being resolved, on his part, to make good all his promises made by himself or by the lord keeper. The House debated upon this message till the then unusually late hour of six in the evening, but came to no resolution. Secretary Vane, Clarendon says, treacherously, and without the king's orders (*which is very improbable, and seems to be disproved by attending circumstances*), assured the Commons that the king would accept of nothing less from them than an immediate granting of twelve subsidies. Many of the members observed that, if they were thus to purchase a release from an imposition very unjustly laid upon the kingdom, they should in a manner confess it had been a just tax. As to the king's constant assertions about the great danger of the nation, there

* Clarendon, Hist.

was hardly a man in the House of Commons that believed them—there were many who looked to the Scotch Covenanters as their best friends.

The day after the delivery of Vane's first message was a Sunday, but on Monday (the 4th of May) the king sent Sir Henry to the House of Commons with a second urgent message.

The Commons went again into a committee of the whole House to consider his majesty's messages. But though they spent the whole day till six at night in busy debate, they came to no resolution, and separated with desiring Sir Henry Vane to acquaint his majesty that they would resume the question at eight o'clock on the following morning. On that morning, at an earlier hour than eight, the king sent Secretary Windebank to the house of Serjeant Glanvil, the speaker, who lived in Chancery-lane, with a command to bring him to Whitehall. The Commons met at the appointed hour, and were alarmed at the non-appearance of their Speaker; and, while they were discoursing with one another, James Maxwell, gentleman usher, came with the black rod to let them know that his majesty was in the House of Lords, and expected their coming thither. Charles, in effect, by the advice of Laud and of all his council, with the exception of the Earls of Northumberland and Holland, had resolved upon an immediate dissolution; for Vane and the Solicitor-general Herbert, on the preceding evening, had told him that the Commons, if permitted to sit again, would pass such a vote against ship-money as would blast not only that revenue (we should have thought it had been blasted enough already), but also other branches of the king's receipts.* Left without their Speaker, whom Charles, no doubt to Glanvil's own satis-

* Clarendon, Hist. The noble historian adds,—“What followed in the next parliament, within less than a year, made it believed that Sir Henry Vane acted that part maliciously, and to bring all into confusion; he being known to have an implacable hatred against the Earl of Strafford, Lieutenant of Ireland, whose destruction was then upon the anvil.”

faction, had made fast in the palace, the Commons could neither vote nor protest as a House ; and so they rose quietly, and followed black rod to the House of Lords. When they appeared at the bar, Charles pronounced their sentence of dissolution in a speech of some length. As on a former occasion, he praised the Upper House at the expense of the Lower one, telling the lords that it was neither their fault nor his that this parliament had not come to a happy end ; and, praising their Lordships' willing ear and great affection, he bade them remember the commands he had given at the opening of this parliament, and then complained of the Commons not taking his promises in exchange for instant subsidies. This time, however, he did not call the opposition "vipers." "I will not," he said, "lay this fault on the whole House of Commons ; I will not judge so uncharitably of those whom, for the most part, I take to be loyal and well-affected subjects ; but it hath been the malicious cunning of some few seditiously-affected men that hath been the cause of this misunderstanding." He concluded with saying, "As for the liberty of the people, that they now so much startle at, know, my lords, that no king in the world shall be more careful in the propriety of their goods, liberty of their persons, and true religion, than I shall. And now, my lord keeper, do as I have commanded you." Then Finch stood up, and added, "My lords, and you, the gentlemen of the House of Commons, the king's majesty doth dissolve this parliament." This, the last dissolution which Charles was to make, took place on the 5th of May, 1640.

Even in the eyes of the king's friends he had committed a most lamentable mistake. According to Clarendon, "there could not a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation than this dissolution caused, and men had much of the misery in view which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men * would ever meet together in that

* Mr. Hallam has shown that all the principal men who headed the popular party in the Long Parliament were mem-

place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them ; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given which put the king upon that resolution." But if his enemies rejoiced and his friends grieved at the measure, Charles himself either felt no regret or concealed it. He put forth a Declaration to all his loving subjects of the causes which moved him to dissolve the last parliament, in which he charged the Commons with venting their own malice and disaffection to the state, instead of using dutiful expressions towards his person and government ; with their subtle and malignant courses intending nothing less than to bring all government and magistracy into contempt, and all this, in spite of his own piety and goodness ; with presuming to interfere in acts of his government and council, taking upon themselves to be guiders and directors in all matters both temporal and ecclesiastical ; and, "as if kings were bound to give an account of their royal actions, and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in parliament," in a very audacious and insolent way, censuring the present government, traducing his majesty's administration of justice, rendering his officers and ministers of state odious to the rest of his subjects, and not only this but his majesty's very government, which had been so just, so gracious, that never was the like in this or any other nation ; with having delayed the supplies in spite of all his promises, and introducing a way of bargaining and contracting with the king, as if nothing ought to be given him by them but what he should buy and purchase of them, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his revenues.* And, as if the unconstitutional practice of imprisoning members for words spoken in the House had not made bad blood

bers of this—that the difference was not so much in the men as in the times ; the bad administration, and bad success of 1640, as well as the dissolution of the short parliament, having greatly aggravated the public discontents in the interval that elapsed between the dissolving of this and the summoning of the next parliament.—*Const. Hist.*

* *Parl. Hist.*—Rushworth.

enough,—as if the case of Sir John Eliot had been forgotten by the nation and those bosom friends who were morally strengthened by his slow martyrdom in the Tower,—Charles committed several members the very day after the dissolution. Mr. Bellasis and Sir John Hotham were sent to the Fleet Prison by a warrant signed by Laud, Strafford, Hamilton, Windebank, Goring, and sixteen other ministers or members of the council. The only offence alleged against them was that of their speeches. Mr. John Crew, afterwards Lord Crew, was committed to the Tower by a warrant signed by Laud, Strafford, Windebank, Goring, and six other members of the council. His offence was the not discovering or delivering up certain petitions, papers, and complaints which he had received in parliament, being in the chair of the committee for the redress of religious grievances.* The house of the Lord Brooke was searched for papers, and his study and cabinets were broken open.

Previously to the meeting of parliament, Laud had summoned a convocation of the clergy, and this body continued to sit in spite of the dissolution of parliament, which was considered very illegal.† Nor would Laud, and those who acted under him in this assembly, be warned by the signs of the times and the spirit shown by the dissolved parliament: oppressors to the last, they enacted a number of new constitutions, which were all shattered at the first meeting of the Long Parliament. They ordered that every clergyman should instruct his parishioners once a quarter in the divine right of kings and the damnable sin of resistance to authority. They added canons charged with exaggerated intolerance against Catholics, Socinians, and Separatists. From Northamptonshire, Kent, Devonshire, and other counties, spirited petitions and exceptions were sent up against these canons; the nation was in a ferment; but Charles obtained from the gratitude of Laud and his clergy in convocation a grant of six subsidies, each of

* May.—Rushworth,

† May.—It was contrary to ancient usage at least.

four shillings in the pound, which money was expressly destined for the scourging of the stiff-necked Scots, and the uprooting of Presbyterianism.* But this was not money enough for such great undertakings, and Charles “fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raising of more.”† Fresh collections were made by means of the queen and Sir Kenelm Digby among the Roman Catholics; writs of ship-money were issued in greater numbers and enforced with more severity than ever, merchants and gentlemen of landed property being almost daily Star-chambered on this account; great loans were attempted to be drawn from the city of London, for which purpose the names of the richest citizens were, by royal command, returned to the council-board. Bullion was seized in the Tower, bags of pepper upon the Exchange, and sold at an under rate. A consultation was held about coining 400,000*l.* of base money; but here the merchants and other intelligent men stepped in to show the great inconvenience and perils which always attended a depreciation of the coinage, and Charles for once listened to good advice and held his hand, notwithstanding the precedent quoted by his council.‡ Goods were bought on long credit and sold at a loss for ready money; large sums were raised in the counties where troops were quartered for the northern wars by actual violence, or horses, carts, provisions, and forage were taken from the people at the sword’s point. The mayor and sheriffs of London were dragged into the Star Chamber for slackness in levying ship-money; and Strafford observed, that things would never go right till a few fat London aldermen were hanged. Four aldermen, Soames, Atkins, Rainton, and Geere, were committed by warrant of the privy-council, because, being summoned before the board,—his majesty present in council,—they had refused to set down the names of such persons within their several and respective wards, who, in their opinions, were able to

* Rushworth.—May.—Hardwicke State Papers.—Nelson.

† Clarendon, Hist.

‡ Queen Elizabeth had debased the coinage during her Irish wars.

lend his majesty money for the safeguard and defence of the realm, &c. The effect of this "setting in motion all the wheels of the prerogative"* was inevitable. And it is generally admitted that it was now that the discontented English drew closer their bonds of friendship with the Covenanters, and that many of the king's own officers, and some of his ministers, concerted measures with Loudon, and Leslie, and other Scottish leaders. Laud's friend, Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, had called this Scottish war "*bellum Episcopale*" (a war for Episcopacy), and such the English people were disposed to consider it. During the sitting of the convocation, a libel, or paper, was posted up at the Royal Exchange, inviting the London apprentices, who were rather prone to mischief, to rise and sack the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth. The invitation was accepted, and, on the night of the 11th of May, a mob, consisting almost entirely of apprentices and youths, fell upon the said palace. But Laud had had time to garrison and fortify his residence; the rioters were not very numerous, and he "had no harm."† "Since then," he says, "I have got cannons and fortified my house, and hope all may be safe; but yet libels are constantly set up in all places of note in the city."‡ Ten days after, this gentle representative of the apostles enters in his Diary,—“One of the chief being taken, was condemned at Southwark on Thursday, *and hanged and quartered* on Saturday morning following.” The victim, it appears, was a stripling, and the horrid punishment of treason was awarded to him by the court lawyers because there happened to be a

* Whitelock.

† Laud, in noting the occurrence in his Diary, says,—“May 11: Monday night, at midnight, my house at Lambeth was beset with 500 persons of the rascal riotous multitude. I had notice, and strengthened the house as well as I could, and God be blessed I had no harm.” Clarendon, with his usual tendency to exaggeration, says, “that the rabble of mean, unknown, dissolute persons amounted to the number of *some thousands*.”—*Hist.*

‡ Diary.

drum with the mob; and the marching to beat of drum was held to be a levying of war against the king. Many others were arrested; but "some of these mutinous people came in the daytime, and broke open the White Lion Prison, and let loose their fellows, both out of that prison and the King's Bench, and the other prisoners out of the White Lion."* Clarendon says that "this infamous, scandalous, headless insurrection, quashed with the deserved death of that one varlet, was not thought to be contrived or fomented by any persons of quality."

Regardless of the royal prerogative, the Scottish parliament met on the 2nd of June, and put forth a series of manifestoes, which had more weight in England, as well as in Scotland, than all the royal proclamations. But they had not waited so long to organise their resistance; they called out their levies in March and April, and, having retained their superior officers and their skilful commanders from abroad when they disbanded their army the preceding year, they were soon in a condition to act on the offensive; for, again, they did not wait for

* Laud's Diary.—Clarendon says that the man was a sailor; but neither he nor the archbishop relates the worst part of the story. "On the Friday," says a contemporary, "this fellow was racked in the Tower to make him confess his companions. The king's serjeants, Heath and Whitfield, took his examination on the rack last Friday." In the case of Felton, the judges had solemnly decided against the use of torture as always, and in all circumstances, contrary to the law of England. Its subsequent employment in this case was therefore an enormity destitute of all excuse, and it can scarcely be doubted that it was perpetrated by the direction of Laud himself. In all probability the execution of the wretched victim preserved the atrocious secret in few hands, or it would surely have attracted the notice of the Long Parliament. The circumstance is mentioned by no historian, but the warrant for applying the torture still exists in the State Paper Office. It has been printed by Mr. Jardine in his interesting tract on the Use of Torture in England, 8vo. 1837, pp. 108, 109. The poor victim was a mere youth. His name was John Archer. According to one account he was not a sailor but a drummer.

attack, but struck the first blow themselves.* Leslie was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the Covenant, and, being resolved not to move southward till he was master of Edinburgh Castle, he laid siege to that fortress; but Ruthven, the governor, made an obstinate resistance. Leslie intrusted the conduct of the siege to some of his best officers, and went southward, and it was not till he was victorious on the Tyne that he learned that Ruthven was constrained to capitulate, and deliver up the castle to the Covenanters. The parliament imposed a tax of a tenth upon every man's rents, and the twentieth penny of interest on loans, &c., throughout the kingdom of Scotland; and before they adjourned they appointed a standing committee of estates, to superintend the operations of the campaign, to sit in the cabinet at Edinburgh, to move with the troops, to be in the camp or wherever else their presence should be most required. In fact, the whole executive power of the state was fixed by this parliament in their standing committee. Having got all things ready, the Covenanters resolved to enter England with a sword in one hand and a petition in the other, signifying, in the mean time, to the English people what their intentions were, and the reasons of their invasion.

Charles, Strafford, and the Earl of Northumberland thought that they had provided for the worst in making the Lord Conway general of the horse, instead of the Earl of Holland. "He was sent down with the first troops of horse and foot which were levied to the borders of Scotland, to attend the motion of the enemy, and had a strength sufficient to stop them, if they should attempt to pass the river, which was not fordable in above one or two places, there being good garrisons in Berwick and Carlisle."†

Conway was in cantonment between the Tweed and

* It should be mentioned, however, that Charles, long before this, had prohibited all trade with Scotland; that his men-of-war and cruisers had been making prizes of Scottish merchantmen wherever they could find them.

† Clarendon, Hist.

the Tyne by the end of July. Upon the 20th of August Charles began his journey from London towards York in some haste; and on that very day Leslie dashed across the Tweed with his Covenanters.* Charles published a proclamation, declaring the Scots, and all who in any way assisted them, to be rebels and traitors, and to have incurred the penalties of high treason; yet he declared that he would forgive the Scots if they would "acknowledge their former crimes and exorbitancies, and in humble and submissive manner, like penitent delinquents, crave pardon for the past, and yield obedience for the time to come." He also declared himself generalissimo of his own army, and claimed the attendance of all the tenants of the crown, as upon a war waged by the sovereign in person. Numerically the royal army actually collected was an imposing force:—without counting the train-bands of the northern counties, or the Irish troops brought over by Strafford, or about to be sent over by the Earl of Ormond, it was 20,000 strong, and provided with 60 pieces of artillery. But it was imposing in numbers only: discipline, which can make ten men more effective than a hundred, and the hearty zeal in the cause, and attachment to the banner of their leaders, which can almost do as much, were altogether wanting. The Earl of Northumberland had been offered the post of commander-in-chief, under the king; but he declined the dangerous honour, on the ground of a very doubtful sickness, and it was conferred upon Strafford, who had really risen from a sick bed, and was not yet cured of a dreadful attack of his old enemy the gout. Strafford, knowing that his undisciplined levies and wavering officers would be no match for the well-drilled Scots, and the experienced captains that commanded them, had ordered Lord Conway not to attempt to dispute the open country between the Tweed and the Tyne, but, at all hazards, to make good his stand at Newburn, and

* One part of the Scottish army crossed at a ford close to Coldstream; another part at a ford lower down the river.

prevent the Covenanters from crossing the latter river. But before Charles could get farther north than Northallerton, or Strafford than Darlington, Conway was in full retreat, and the Scots upon the Wear, and "that infamous, irreparable rout at Newburn had fallen out."*

Upon Thursday, the 27th of August, Leslie and his Scots encamped on the left bank of the Tyne, a very short distance from Newburn, at a spot called Heddon-law. That night they made great fires round about their camp. During the night they suffered any Englishmen, that chose, to visit them, making them welcome, and assuring them that they only came to demand justice from the king, against incendiaries. In the course of the following day, Conway drew up the king's army, consisting of 3000 foot, and 1500 horse, in some meadow-ground close on the south bank of the river, between Newburnhaugh and Stellahaugh, which faced two fords, passable for infantry at low water. During the forenoon the Scots watered their horses at one side of the river, and the English at the other, without any attempt to annoy each other—without exchanging any reproachful language. For many hours the two forces looked at each other calmly, and without any apparent anxiety to engage. At last a Scottish officer, well mounted, wearing a black feather in his hat, came out of Newburn to water his horse in the river Tyne; and an English soldier, seeing this officer fix his eye on the English trenches, fired at him, whether in earnest or to scare him was not known, but the shot took effect, and the officer with the black feather fell wounded off his horse. Thereupon the Scottish musketeers opened a fire across the river upon the English, and Leslie ordered his artillery to play. The Scots played upon the English breast-works, and the king's army played upon Newburn church, till it grew to be near low water, by which time the Scottish artillery had made a breach in the greater sconce, where Colonel Lunsford commanded. The English colonel had great difficulty to

* Clarendon.

keep his men to their post, for several had been killed, and many wounded, and when they saw a captain, a lieutenant, and some other officers slain, they began to murmur; and, after receiving another well-directed shot from the Scots, they threw down their arms and ran out of the fort. Leslie, from the rising hill above Newburn, plainly perceived this evacuation, and it being then low water, he commanded his own body-guard—a troop of twenty-six horse, and *all Scotch lawyers*—to pass the ford, which they did with great spirit, and having reconnoitred the other sconce, or breast-work, they rode back, without coming to close quarters. Still keeping up his fire, he at length made the English foot to waver, and finally compelled them to abandon that work also. Then Leslie played hard upon the king's horse, drawn up in the meadow, and so galled them that they fell into disorder, which was greatly increased when the Scottish lawyers charged again with a body of cavalry under Sir Thomas Hope, and two Scottish regiments of foot, commanded by the Lords Lindsay and Loudon, waded through the river. Presently Leslie threw more troops, both horse and foot, on the right bank, and then Colonel Lunsford drew off all his cannon, and a retreat was sounded by the English trumpets.* After this short struggle, the English fled in the greatest disorder to Newcastle. Nor did they consider themselves safe there, for the Lord Conway called a council of war, and it was resolved, at twelve o'clock at night, that the town was not tenable,† and that the whole army should fall back instantly upon Durham. In the whole battle—if battle it may be called—there fell not above sixty Englishmen: it was evident that they had no mind to fight the Scots in this quarrel.

* "The truth is," says Secretary Vane, in a letter to Windebank, "our horse did not behave themselves well, for many of them ran away, and did not second those that were first charged."—*Hardwicke State Papers*.

† Rushworth.—This laborious writer was on the spot at the time.

By five o'clock on the following morning, August the 29th, Newcastle was evacuated, and all that part of the English army in full retreat. For a time it appears the Scots could scarcely believe their good fortune; but, in the afternoon, Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale, rode up with a trumpet and a small troop of horse to the gates of Newcastle, which, after some parley, were thrown open to him. The following day, being Sunday, Douglas and fifteen Scottish lords dined with the mayor, Sir Peter Riddle, drank a health to the king, and heard three sermons preached by their own divines. Conway did not consider Durham more tenable than Newcastle: he pursued his retreat to Darlington, where he met the fiery Strafford, who, however, was fain to turn with him, and fall still farther back to Northallerton, where the standard of Charles was floating.* Leslie soon quitted Newcastle, and was marching after them, so, having hastily reviewed their forces, and found them greatly diminished by desertion, the king, Strafford, and Conway all moved together from Northallerton, and fell

* Strafford, according to Clarendon, had brought with "a body much broken with his late sickness, a mind and temper confessing the dregs of it, which, being marvellously provoked and inflamed with indignation at the late dishonour, rendered him less gracious,—that is, less inclined to make himself so to the officers upon his first entrance into his charge; it may be, in that mass of disorder, not quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was justly due. But those who, by this time, no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him; and so far prevailed in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against him than against the enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to excess of conscience, and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no better. In this indisposition in all parts the earl found it necessary to retire."—*Hist.* We learn from a letter of Sir Henry Vane (in Hardwicke Papers) that Strafford at this time was troubled with the stone as well as the gout. Charles, it appears, thought to revive him and reward him by giving him the blue ribbon, which was done on the 13th of September.

back upon the city of York, with the intention of intrenching close under the walls of that town, and sending back their cavalry into Richmond or Cleveland, to guard the river Tees and keep the Scots from making incursions into Yorkshire. Leslie took Durham as he had taken Newcastle; and the Scots entered without opposition into Shields, Teignmouth, and other places. Without losing twenty men they became masters of nearly the whole of the four northern counties of England. But though the road to York seemed open to them, though the disaffection of the inhabitants was well known, they paused upon the left bank of the Tees. On the 11th of September, when the Londoners were already greatly dismayed by the notion that they should get no more coals from Newcastle, his majesty took a view of his army under the walls of York, and found that it still consisted of 16,000 foot, and 2000 horse, besides the trained bands of Yorkshire. "Braver bodies of men, and better clad," wrote Sir Henry Vane to Secretary Windebank, "have I not seen anywhere. . . . So, if God sends us hearts and hands . . . and so as you do provide us monies in time, I do not see (though it must be confessed they have made but too far and prosperous advance already into this kingdom) but that, God being with his majesty's army, success will follow."*

But, to say nothing of God's blessing, which *his* preachers said he had, heart and money were both wanting; and the unwelcome conviction induced Charles to turn a ready ear to those who urged the necessity of temporising with the Scots. He condescended to receive as envoy and negotiator the Lord Lanark, secretary of state for Scotland, and brother to the Marquess of Hamilton, who presented the petition of the Covenanters to his majesty. Charles, on the 5th of September, gave a gentle but evasive answer to the Earl of Lanark, telling him that he was always ready to redress the grievances of his people; that the petition he had

* Hardwicke State Papers.

presented was conceived in too general terms, but that, if he would return with a more specific statement of their grievances, he would give them his earliest attention. Even at this extremity, he was most averse to the summoning of a parliament: but he thought (most unreasonably) to satisfy the Scots by telling Lanark that he had already issued summonses for the meeting of the *peers* of England, in the city of York, on the 24th day of September. On the 8th of September the Covenanters sent Lanark a list of their grievances and conditions, expressing their great joy at learning that his majesty was beginning again to hearken to their humble petitions and desires.

These demands, though respectfully expressed, were not altogether moderate; but Charles read them, pretended to entertain them, and, with indignant pride turned to Strafford to know whether 20,000 men could not be brought over *instantly* from Ireland, and looked to other quarters, to see whether there were not means for resisting and chastising the Scotch rebels. But there were none: the whole nation was in discontent and ferment, and the provinces occupied by the Scots cried with an alarming voice to be released from the burden of supporting them. At the same time Charles was beset by English subjects, who clamoured for a new parliament and the redress of their own crying grievances. Twelve peers—Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, Mulgrave, Say and Sele, Howard, Bolingbroke, Mandevill, Brooke, and Pagett—presented a petition to the sovereign. At the same time the citizens of London prepared a petition to the same effect. Laud and the privy council, sitting in the capital, got sight of a copy of this petition as it was being circulated for signature, and thereupon they endeavoured to stop the proceeding and terrify the subscribers.* But the citizens disregarded their letter, put nearly 10,000 names to the petition, and despatched

* See Laud's letter to the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, in Rushworth.

some of the court of aldermen and common council to present it to the king at York. Also the gentry of Yorkshire, when called upon to pay and support the trained bands for two months, agreed to do their best therein, but most humbly besought his majesty to think of summoning parliament.* Charles now, indeed, saw that a parliament was inevitable; and before the meeting of the peers, who had been really summoned to York as a great council, he issued writs for the assembling of parliament on the following 3rd of November. Meanwhile, upon the appointed day—the 24th of September—the great council of peers assembled in the dean's house near the Minster at York. There Charles told them that he had called them together, after the custom of his predecessors, to ask their advice and assistance upon sudden invasions and dangers which had not allowed time for the calling of a parliament; that an army of rebels were lodged within the kingdom; that he wanted their advice and assistance, in order to proceed to the chastisement of these insolences. He then asked what answer he should give to the petition of the rebels, and in what manner he should treat them, and how he should keep his own army on foot and maintain it until supplies might be had from a parliament. The Earl of Bristol proposed to continue and conclude the treaty with the Scots. He and other lords were confident that they could make peace upon honourable terms. While they were speaking a packet was brought from the Covenanters to Lord Lanark, with a new petition to his majesty, “supplicating in a more mannerly style than formerly.” On the following day (the 25th of September), the lords, delighted with his majesty's assurance of calling a parliament, entered into debate with great cheerfulness and alacrity. Northallerton had been agreed upon for a place of meeting between the English and Scotch commissioners, but now it was declared that Ripon would be a better place; and the English peers unanimously resolved to hold the negotiations

* Rushworth.

at Ripon.* Sixteen of the English peers were to act for Charles; * eight Scottish lords and gentlemen for the covenant.

Charles attempted to transfer the conferences from Ripon to the city of York; but the Scots, who were very cautious,—who, in the midst of all their civility, had shown that they had not the slightest confidence in his royal word,—objected to putting themselves so completely in his power. Here, also, their jealousy and hatred of Strafford blazed forth. That potential, and still formidable minister was set down as “a chief incendiary,” as a main cause of all these troubles, as a colleague with Papists, the worst foe of Scotland as of England.† If the loose and inaccurate minutes of the proceedings of the great council of peers at York may be trusted, Strafford did not advise his master at this juncture to break off all negotiation and trust to force of arms;—he was too keen-sighted a person not to perceive the great and growing disaffection of the English army; but another peer certainly gave something very like this resolute advice. Edward Lord Herbert, commonly called the Black Lord Herbert, irritated at the Scots’ demand of 40,000*l.* per month, advised the king to fortify York, and dissuaded his majesty from yielding to that demand. But this advice, though in all respects it coincided with the feelings of the king, was too dangerous to be adopted.

* They were Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, Berkshire, Mandevill, Wharton, Pagett, Brooke, Paulet, Howard, Saville, and Dunsmore; and they were to be assisted in arranging the treaty by the earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanark, Secretary Vane, Sir Lewis Stuart, and Sir John Burrough, who were men either versed in the laws of Scotland, or who had been formerly acquainted with this business. The Scottish commissioners were the lords Dunfermline and Loudon, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, Alexander Henderson the celebrated preacher, Johnson the clerk of the general Assembly, Wedderburne, and Smith.

† Rushworth.

The commissioners laboured with little effect from the 1st of October till the 16th, when they agreed upon articles for the quiet maintenance of the Scottish army for two months, for the opening of the sea-ports in the north and the renewal of free trade and commerce by sea and land, as in time of peace, and for the cessation of hostilities; and nothing more was settled, for all the grievances and important clauses of a definitive treaty were left untouched: and, on the 23rd of October,—the time of the meeting of parliament approaching,—it was agreed that the negotiations should be transferred from Ripon to London. The Scots were to receive or levy the sum of 850*l.* *per diem* for the space of two months, beginning from the 16th of October; they were to content themselves with this maintenance, and neither molest Papists, prelates, nor their adherents;* and by this arrangement Leslie and the Covenanters were left in undisturbed possession of Durham, Newcastle, and all the towns on the eastern coast beyond the Tees, with the single exception of Berwick. "Upon such terms," says a contemporary, "was this unnatural war (although the armies could not as yet be disbanded) brought to a cessation."†

Upon the 3rd of November, 1640, Charles, in evident depression of spirits, opened in person the ever-memorable Long Parliament.‡ He told the Houses that the honour and safety of the kingdom being at stake, he was resolved to put himself freely and clearly on the love

* Some of the Scotch army thought it quite fair to plunder the Papists of Northumberland, and from the Papists they had proceeded to bishops' tenantry and episcopalsians.

† May.

‡ Charles would not open parliament with the usual state. He, as it were, skulked to the House. "The king," says Laud in his Diary, "did not ride, but went by water to King's Stairs, and through Westminster Hall to the church, and so to the House." Clarendon says with more solemnity,—"This parliament had a sad and melancholic aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events."—*Hist.*

and affection of his English subjects,—that he was exhausted by charges made merely for the security of England, and therefore must desire them to consider the best way of supplying him with money, chastising the rebels, &c., and then he would satisfy all their just grievances. And at the end of his speech he said, with great emphasis,—“One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy parliament, that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another: as I promised my lords at York, it shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good parliament.”* But this invitation to a mutual confidence came many years too late. The court had signally failed in its endeavours to influence the elections. Of Charles’s chief servants only two, Vane and Windebank, had obtained seats; and the first of these was suspected of treachery, while Windebank was so odious to the people as a creature of Laud, that his presence in the House was rather hurtful than beneficial. For a long time it had been usual with the Commons to bow to the king’s inclinations in the choice of a Speaker; even in the preceding parliament they had chosen a courtier; but now, instead of Gardiner, the recorder of London, the man of the king’s choice, Lenthall, a practising barrister, was hastily chosen; and the choice was approved by Charles, in ignorance of the man. Hampden, Pym, St. John, and Denzil Hollis again took their seats, and their party was wonderfully strengthened by the election of Mr. Henry Vane, the son of Sir Henry Vane, and one of the most remarkable men that sat in that parliament,—so wild an enthusiast in religion as to excite a suspicion of his sanity or sincerity,—so acute a politician, so accomplished a statesman, as to challenge the admiration of all parties. The first thing these men did was to move for the appointment of committees of grievance, and the re-

* Charles was followed by the Lord Keeper Finch, who made an elaborate speech to show that, with the exception of the impious troubles in the north, the country was in a blessed state,—that things never had been so well, and never could be better.

ceiving of petitions praying for their removal. Mr. Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon and the historian of the Revolutions of the time), still on the patriotic side, brought up a crying grievance in the north, which was none other than Strafford's Court of the President of the North, or, as it was more usually called, the Court of York. The eccentric George Lord Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, brought up the grievances in the west,—Sir John Colpepper the grievances in the south;—Waller, the poet; a fresh denunciation of ship-money, subservient judges, and the intermission of parliaments. Other petitions were presented in a more startling manner. "The first week," says Whitelock, "was spent in naming general committees and establishing them, and receiving a great many petitions, both from particular persons and from multitudes, and brought by troops of horsemen from several counties, craving redress of grievances and exorbitances; both in church and state." The Lord Falkland, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Edward Deering, Mr. Harbottle Grimston, and other leading members, fell vigorously upon the system of episcopacy, and the House presently denounced all the acts and canons which Laud had hurried through the late convocation: They attacked every part of church government,—every proceeding of the primate in matters of religion and conscience. Sir Edward Deering compared the modern episcopacy to papistry, and attacked that tyrannical court which was so dear and essential to Laud. "With the Papists," said he, "there is a severe inquisition, and with us there is a bitter high commission; both these, *contra fas et jus*, are judges in their own case." He went on to show how nearly Laud's notions of supremacy and infallibility approached to those of the pope. "And herein," added he, "I shall be free and clear—if one of these must be, I had rather serve one as far off as the Tiber, than to have him come to me so near as the Thames: a pope at Rome will do me less hurt than a patriarch at Lambeth." It may readily be conceived how these things affected Laud, who shortly before had been visited by omens and

misgivings, and who clearly saw ruin approaching.* It was, indeed, evident that the Commons believed, with Pym, that "they must not only make the house clean, but pull down the cobwebs."† They debated with the same fearlessness and the same high eloquence on the other grievances of the country; but for many days they constantly returned to the subject of religion and to the evil counsellors about the king.

From speaking, the Commons soon proceeded to action; not always bearing in mind the strict limits of their power and jurisdiction. On the 7th of November, the fourth day of their sitting, they passed a resolution that those victims of Star-chamber tyranny and cruelty, Mr. Burton, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Prynne, should be sent for forthwith by warrant of the House, and made to certify by whose warrant and authority they had been mutilated, branded, and imprisoned. And, being liberated from their distant dungeons by this warrant of the House, the three Puritans, upon the 28th day of November, came to London, being met upon the way and brought into the city by five thousand persons, women as well as men, all mounted on horseback, and wearing in their hats and caps rosemary and bays, in token of joy and triumph. Happy had it been if the released captives and sufferers for conscience' sake, and those who triumphed with them in their release, had learned to tolerate others, or had ascertained the great fact that

* "October 27, Tuesday, Simon and Jude's Eve, I went into my upper study to see some manuscripts, which I was sending to Oxford; in that study hung my picture, taken by the life, and, coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it hung against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in parliament: God grant this be no omen."—*Diary*. A few days before, the archbishop notes in the same private record—"The high commission sitting at St. Paul's, because of the troubles of the times, very near two thousand Brownists made a tumult at the end of the court, tore down all the benches in the consistory, and cried out, they would have no bishop, nor no high commission."

† Clarendon, Hist.

persecution and cruelty defeat their own objects! Within a month after the return of the three Puritans, their business was referred to a committee, and, upon the report of that committee, it was voted by the House that their several judgments were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject; and, about a month after this, it was further voted that they should receive damages for their great sufferings, and that satisfaction should be made them in money, to be paid by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the other high commissioners, and those lords who had voted against them in the Star Chamber, and that they should be restored to their callings and professions of divinity, law, and physic. The damages were fixed for Burton at 6000*l.*, for Prynne and Bastwick at 5000*l.* each. As these men were comforted after their sufferings, so other divines, followers of Laud's orthodoxy, after a brief triumph, were brought to their torment. The Committee of Religion was indefatigable, and certainly neither tolerant nor merciful.

Among all the men of his rank, Laud's friend and pet author, Dr. Cousens, master of St. Peter's, Cambridge, was most noted for what were termed superstitions and curious observances. "He was not noted," says May, "for any great depth of learning, nor yet scandalous for ill living, but only forward to show himself in formalities and outward ceremonies concerning religion, many of which were such as a Protestant state might not well suffer." Cousens was imprisoned and bailed, and though deprived of some of his preferments, yet escaped without any great punishment, being one of a crowd that had reason to rejoice that the parliament had so much business on hand. On the 18th of December, Cousens's friend and patron, William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c., was singled out for the crushing thunderbolts of the House. It was resolved that a message should be sent to the Lords to accuse him, in the name of the House and of all the Commons of England, of high treason, and to desire that he might be forthwith sequestered from parliament, and committed. Denzil Hollis carried up this message. Evidently to his sur-

prise, the Lord Keeper Finch told him, that the Lords would sequester the archbishop from their House, and commit him to the custody of their gentleman-usher.* Laud desired leave to speak, and dropped some unguarded expressions, which he afterwards begged leave to retract, but was refused by their lordships. He then requested permission to go to his house to fetch some papers, that might enable him to make his defence. This permission was granted, provided he did nothing but in sight of the gentleman-usher, in whose custody he was ordered to remain, and in whose custody he *did* remain for ten weeks, when he was committed to the Tower. In his speech on the motion of impeachment, Mr. Grimston desired the House to look upon Laud's colleagues and dependants. "Who is it but he only," exclaimed the orator, "that hath brought the Earl of Strafford to all his great places and employments? . . . Who is it but he that brought in Secretary Windebank into that place of trust—Windebank, the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon? Who is it but he only, that hath advanced all our popish bishops? I shall name but some of them: Bishop Mainwaring, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Oxford, and Bishop Wren, the least of all these birds, but one of the most unclean."† On the morrow of Laud's arrest (the 19th of December), it was ordered that a message should

* At the same time, Laud was denounced as "the great incendiary in the national differences" by the Scotch commissioners, who had come up to London, and were residing in the city—"much frequented by the disaffected."

† Mainwaring, who had made such a noise by his writings in favour of absolutism and the divine right of kings, was now Bishop of St. David's; the Bishop of Bath and Wells was William Pierce; the Bishop of Oxford was Dr. John Bancroft; Matthew Wren, now of Ely, had been Bishop of Norwich, and had distinguished himself in that diocese by his violent persecution of Puritans and his expulsion of the industrious clothiers—foreigners, or descendants of foreigners, who would not renounce the religion they had brought with them into England. Bishop Wren was uncle of the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren.

be sent to the Lords, that there were certain informations of a high nature against Dr. Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, concerning the setting up of idolatry and superstition; and that the Commons, having information that he was endeavouring an escape, desired their lordships that care might be taken that he should give good security to abide the judgment of parliament. Mr. Hampden went up with this message.

But before these churchmen were stricken in their pride of place, Strafford had been denounced, formally accused, and safely lodged in the Tower. When the king left York, his lieutenant remained behind him, to take charge of what remained of the army in the north. It is proved by many concurrent witnesses that Strafford was averse to coming to London and meeting the parliament. His friends told him, that to appear in his place as a peer would be to hazard his life. He humbly represented to his master, that it would be better to leave him where he was, as he could not hope to be able to do his majesty any service at Westminster, where he felt he should rather be a hindrance to his affairs, as he foresaw that the great envy and ill-will of the parliament and of the Scots would be bent against him. He told Charles, that if he kept out of sight, he would not be so much in their mind; and if they should fall upon him, he, being at a distance, might the better avoid any danger, having liberty of going over to Ireland, or to some other place where he might be most serviceable to his majesty. The king, notwithstanding these weighty reasons, continued very earnest for Strafford's coming up to the parliament. Charles had a wonderful notion of Strafford's powers of imposing on parliaments, and his own less daring spirit stood in need of his servant's resoluteness; and in the end he laid his commands upon him, pledging himself for his safety, and assuring him that, as he was King of England, he was able to secure him from any danger, and that the parliament should not touch one hair of his head. Strafford made haste to thank his majesty for these assurances, but, still unconvinced, he once more represented the danger of his coming, saying, that if there should fall

out a difference between his majesty and his parliament concerning him, it would be a very great disturbance to his majesty's affairs; and that he had rather suffer himself, than that the king's affairs should suffer on his account. But Charles would not be moved by these representations, or by the prospect of the danger which must attend his favourite minister; he repeated his injunctions, saying that he could not do without Strafford's valuable advice in the great transactions of this parliament; and in obedience to these reiterated commands, the earl came up to London.* Strafford assumed a bold bearing, and a confidence which his inmost heart denied. "A greater and more universal hatred," says a noble contemporary, "was never contracted by any person, than he has drawn upon himself. He is not at all dejected, but believes confidently to clear himself in the opinion of all equal and indifferent-minded hearers, when he shall come to make his defence."† Strafford arrived in town on Monday night; on Tuesday he rested from the fatigues of the journey; on the Wednesday he went to parliament, "but ere night he was caged."‡

"It was about three of the clock in the afternoon," says Rushworth, "when the Earl of Strafford (being infirm, and not well disposed in his health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning), hearing that both houses still sat, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough), that he made that haste then to accuse the Lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom; but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers, when the message from the House of Commons was called in, and when Mr. Pym, at the bar, and in the name of the Commons of England, impeached

* Whitelock.

† Sidney Papers: Letter from the Earl of Northumberland to the Earl of Leicester, dated the 13th of Nov. 1640.

‡ Letters of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, and one of the Scottish Commissioners sent up to London. "Intolerable pride and oppression," says Baillie, "cries to heaven for vengeance."

Thomas, Earl of Strafford, of high treason, and several other heinous crimes and misdemeanours, of which, he said, the Commons would in due time make proof in form; and, in the mean time, desired, in their name, that he might be sequestered from all counsels, and be put in safe custody." Pym, who carried up the impeachment, had, according to Clarendon, announced his determined hatred to Strafford many years before. "You are going to leave us," said Pym, when Wentworth first went over to the king's party, "but we will never leave *you*, while your head is upon your shoulders." On the present occasion Strafford had gone in haste to the House. "He calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens: his lordship, with a proud, glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board head; but at once many bid him void the House; so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone, without a word. In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way, through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach;' so he behoved to do."* A few days after his arrest, Strafford requested to be admitted to bail, but this was refused him, and he was safely lodged in the Tower.

Next the Commons impeached Secretary Windebank and my Lord Keeper Finch; but little or no care was taken to secure their persons, and both were allowed to escape. Windebank, favoured by the queen, fled into France, where he soon made a public profession of Ca-

* Letters of Baillie.

tholicism; Finch fled into Holland. Clarendon hints that Finch had come to a compromise with the popular party, "it being visible he was in their favour;" but he expresses his surprise at their suffering Windebank to escape their justice. But the Commons of England were not remarkable for their appetite for blood; they wanted the heads of Strafford and Laud, and no more, and probably connived at, or were glad to see, the flight of their satellites. What they had already done was well calculated to strike terror into the hearts of all worshippers of the despotic principle. It was, indeed, wonderful to see how all the advocates and instruments of despotism, ship-money, and all kinds of illegal taxation, fell at the first blow, and crouched at the feet of their victors. The whole fabric of absolutism was shattered like a house of glass, or melted like a fabric of ice and snow on the return of the summer sun. Charles was helpless, hopeless, at once; there seemed to be scarcely a man in the land to raise sword or voice in his favour; nor did he gain any thing like a formidable party till these first terrors had subsided, and the parliament had stepped beyond that line of reform which the general opinion held to be necessary.

It was not possible for the Commons to overlook the slavish judges who had upheld ship-money, and condemned Mr. Hampden. They sent up Waller with a message to the Lords, and their lordships forthwith ordered that Bramston, Davenport, Berkeley, Crawley, Trevor, and Weston should find heavy bail to abide the judgment of parliament. Berkeley, whose speeches will be remembered, was impeached of high treason, and, to the great disturbance of his brethren, both judges and lawyers, he was arrested while sitting, with his ermine on, on the bench, and brought away like a common felon. But the Commons were certainly not anxious for his blood; and after some time he was permitted to withdraw himself, having, it is said, been *forced* to give a *free* gift of 10,000*l.* for the public service.

A.D. 1641.—On the 19th of January Mr. Prideaux brought in a bill for preventing the dangers and incon-

veniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments. He proposed that the parliament should be held yearly. In committee the House rejected that proposition, and followed the example which had been set them by the Scots a few months before, in voting for regular triennial parliaments. At the same time, to guard against the statute becoming a dead-letter, they directed that the issuing of writs at the fixed time should be imperative on the lord-keeper or chancellor; that if he failed, then the House of Lords should issue the writs; if the Lords failed, then the sheriffs were to do it; and if the sheriffs neglected or refused, then the people were to proceed to elect their representatives without any writs at all. They moreover provided, that no future parliament should be dissolved or adjourned by the king, without its own consent, within less than fifty days from the opening of its session. Charles here attempted to make a stand. On the 23rd of January he summoned both Lords and Commons to Whitehall: there he reproved the latter for their long delays; and spoke of their connivance, which suffered distraction to arise by the indiscreet petitions of men who, "more maliciously than ignorantly, would put no difference between reformation and alteration of government."* The king, however, was now unable either to uphold bishops or resist the Commons in any other particular; and he shortly after reluctantly gave his consent to the bill for triennial parliaments, which was received by the country with demonstrations of joy and triumph.

Both houses had complained concerning seminary-priests, &c., and the triumphant Commons, in the case of one John Goodman, a priest in the queen's service, displayed much of the fanaticism of the times.

All this while the Scottish commissioners were residing in the heart of the city, near London-stone, in a house so near to the church of St. Antholin's, a place made famous by some Puritan or seditious preacher, that there was a way out of it into a gallery of the church.

* Parl. Hist.

“ This benefit was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, amongst which Alexander Henderson was the chief, who was likewise joined with them in the treaty in all matters which had reference to religion ; and to hear those sermons there was so great a conflux and resort by the citizens out of humour and faction, by others of all qualities out of curiosity, by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them, that from the first appearance of day in the morning of every Sunday to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty.”* Clarendon could hardly overrate the influence exercised in the city by these Scottish preachers, and by the lords commissioners. Some of the latter were very acceptable upon other grounds besides those of religion ; they were men of the world, and men of business, pleasant in conversation, and of great address : moreover, the English reformers were bound to them by the double conviction that they could not have achieved what they had done had it not been for the bold march of the Covenanters, and that they could not be sure of their victory if the Scottish army were withdrawn from the northern provinces. The patriots promised them high rewards, and heaped all possible honours upon them ; they were caressed in both houses of parliament ; and an order was entered, that upon all occasions they should be styled “ our brethren of Scotland.” Charles, on the other hand, saw clearly that there was no hope of restoring the old order of things until the Scottish army should be beyond the Tweed, and disbanded ; and he complimented and cajoled the commissioners, and in his eagerness yielded many points in the treaty, in the design of being the sooner rid of them and their army. They advanced claims for the immediate restoration of all Scottish ships and merchandise which had been taken by the English cruisers, and were gratified by a ready compliance. They also claimed indemnification for the charges they had sus-

* Clarendon, Hist.

tained; and Charles referred this money question to the English House of Commons, who speedily voted 125,000*l.* for the expenses of the Scottish army during five months, and 300,000*l.* "as a friendly relief for the losses and necessities of their brethren of Scotland." Before this money could be paid they got large sums for the Covenanters, by way of loan; and there appears to have been no difficulty in raising money in this way in the city of London whenever the proceeds were to go to "our brethren of Scotland." There remained to settle the last clause of the treaty, touching the establishment of a lasting peace between the two nations; and this clause the Scottish commissioners made so difficult, that there was no settling it for the present.

Too late, Charles tried the efficacy of concession. The forest laws had been greatly abused, and had excited violent murmurs: he sent down the Earl of Holland to tell the Lords that, out of his grace and goodness to his people, he was willing to lay down all the new bounds of his forests in this kingdom, and that they should be reduced to the condition they were in before his late encroachments. On a former occasion, when he drew Wentworth, Noy, and Digges from the opposition, he had felt the benefit of tampering with and employing some of the patriots; and he now fondly hoped that a similar experiment on political integrity would be attended with the like success. Whitelock says that there was a proposal (the subject of much discourse) to preserve the Earl of Strafford, by converting his enemies into friends by giving them promotion; that, according to this plan, one should be made lord treasurer, the Lord Saye master of the wards, Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Hollis secretary of state, Mr. Hampden tutor to the prince, &c.* Clarendon mentions a design of giving some of the great offices of the state to some heads of the popular party; but he says, distinctly, that their continued violence in the prosecution of Strafford was the reason for which Charles decided "that the

* Memorials.

putting of those promotions in practice should be for a time suspended." This is very different from Whitelock's implication,—it goes to show that the leaders of the opposition, or the "drivers of parliament," as they were called, did not follow up the great incendiary because they had been refused the places, but, on the contrary, that they were refused the places because they steadily persisted in the prosecution of Strafford.

Pym, whom, as we believe, no earthly consideration could have turned from his purpose of having the head of the greatest and most dangerous enemy to the liberties of his country, had been laboriously employed for more than three months in preparing the charges and proofs against Strafford.* That fallen lord had now to feel by what an insecure tenure he had held the brow-beaten parliament of Ireland. As soon as his sword of strength was shivered by the Commons of England, the Irish parliament sent over a committee, and showed themselves no less intent upon his ruin than the English and Scots. In Ireland he had carried his tyranny to its greatest height; and the English Commons welcomed with affection and joy the committee that came to depose against him, and give the weight of one of the three kingdoms to his prosecution.

Strafford's trial, which had long been the most absorbing subject, now came on. On Monday morning, March 22nd, about seven o'clock, Strafford came from the Tower, accompanied by six barges, wherein were one hundred soldiers of the Tower, all with partisans, and fifty pair of oars. At his landing at Westminster he was attended by two hundred of the trained band, who guarded him into the Hall. "The king, queen, and

* The select and secret committee appointed by the Commons consisted of Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Lord Digby, Strode, Sir Walter Earl, Selden, St. John, Maynard, Palmer, Glynne, and Whitelock. These were to consider the informations against the earl, to arrange the evidence, and, with the occasional assistance of Lord Falkland, Colpepper, and Hyde, to manage the conferences with the Lords, and conduct to its close this solemn and long-protracted trial.

prince came to the House about nine of the clock, but kept themselves private within their closets, only the prince came out once or twice to the cloth of state, so that the king saw and heard all that passed, but was seen of none." The Earl of Arundel, "being," says Clarendon, "a person notoriously disaffected to the Earl of Strafford," was appointed high steward, and the Earl of Lindsay high constable, for the trial. It had been debated whether the bishops should have voices in the trial; and upon the preceding Saturday the startled prelates voluntarily declined voting, being ecclesiastical persons, and so prohibited by the canons from having their hands in blood.* Exceptions had also been taken to some recently-made peers, who were all friends to the prisoner; and the Commons demanded that no peer created since the day upon which the Earl of Strafford was impeached of high treason should sit on his trial.

The Earl of Arundel, as lord high steward of England, sat apart by himself, and, at Strafford's entrance into the dock, he commanded the House to proceed. Then the impeachment, which consisted of twenty-eight capital articles, was read, with Strafford's reply to it, in two hundred sheets of paper. This occupied the first day. On the morrow at the appointed hour Strafford again appeared at the bar, and again the king, queen, and prince took their seats in court.† The lord steward

* Clarendon says that this was done by the Bishop of Lincoln, old Williams, who was still alive and active, and burning with revenge against his cruel persecutor, Archbishop Laud. But it should appear that nearly all the bishops were hopeless of doing Strafford any good, and really averse to being present: and it is quite certain that the canons excluded priests from capital trials.

† "The tirlies" (trellis), says Baillie, "that made them (the king and queen) to be secret, the king brake down with his own hands; so they sat in the eyes of all; but little more regarded than if they had been absent." The Covenanter's description of the scene in Westminster Hall is striking and curious, and not altogether honourable to the good feeling and decency of those present.

having commanded the committee of the Commons who were to manage the evidence to proceed, Pym stood up, and said :—" My lords, we stand here by the commandment of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled for the Commons in parliament, and we are ready to make good that impeachment whereby Thomas earl of Strafford stands charged in their name, and in the name of all the Commons of England, with high treason. This, my lords, is a great cause, and we might sink under the weight of it ; and be astonished with the lustre of this noble assembly, if there were not in the cause strength and vigour to support itself, and to encourage us. It is the cause of the king ; it concerns his majesty in the honour of his government, in the safety of his person, in the stability of his crown. It is the cause of the kingdom ; it concerns not only the peace and prosperity, but even the being, of the kingdom. We have that piercing eloquence, the cries, and groans, and tears and prayers of all the subjects, assisting us. We have the three kingdoms, England, and Scotland, and Ireland, in travail and agitation with us, bowing themselves, like the hinds spoken of in Job, to cast out their sorrows." Pym enumerated the pleas in Strafford's reply, denouncing them all as false or insufficient. He then went at length into Wentworth's abuses of power in Ireland, where chiefly he had earned his bad pre-eminence, and where it was sufficiently proved that he had arrogated an authority beyond what the crown had ever lawfully enjoyed, and even beyond example of former viceroys of that island, where the disorganised state of society, the constant occurrence of insurrections and rebellions, and the distance from control had given rise to such a series of arbitrary precedents, as would have covered and almost excused any ordinary stretch of power.* Pym produced his witnesses who deposed to acts of absolute tyranny. The managers then desired that the remonstrance from Ireland might be read. The prisoner opposed this, as something containing new matter not in the original charge ; but they replied, that the subverting of laws and corruption of

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

government was in general laid in their charge; and upon the Lord Baltinglass and the Lord Digby of Ireland vouching for the truth of the copy, the powerful remonstrance of the Irish parliament was read. Strafford, in answer to it, said that it was the produce of faction and confederacy, and a strong conspiracy against him. These last expressions put the managers into a heat, and Mr. Glynne exclaimed, "My lords, these words are not to be suffered." Strafford craved time to recollect himself, and make his defence to certain charges, protesting, by the Almighty God, that he never had other intentions than to be true and faithful to his majesty and the Commonwealth. The managers insisted that he had had time enough, and ought to answer instantly: the lords adjourned for half an hour, and at their return ordered him to make his answer presently. The prisoner then replied, in a long and able speech, to every article contained in the Irish remonstrance, taking shelter more than once under his commission, and the king's warrants and express commands. Pym replied to this defence; maintaining that it did not make my Lord of Strafford more excusable. And hereupon the court was adjourned to the following day. On the morrow, the third day of the trial, Maynard, one of the managers and an expert lawyer, continued the accusations about the tyranny exercised in Ireland, and produced other witnesses. Strafford was permitted to interrupt the witnesses, and to speak at length, which he did frequently, with great eloquence and an admirable show of modesty and equanimity. This was the case on nearly every day of his long and remarkable trial. "The Earl of Strafford," says May, "answered daily at the bar, whilst the whole House of Commons, having put themselves into a committee, had liberty to charge him, every man as he saw occasion. Every day the first week, from Monday to Saturday without intermission, the earl was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall, and arraigned many hours together; and the success of every day's trial was the greatest discourse or dispute in all companies. For by this time the people began to be a little divided in

opinions. The clergy in general were so much fallen into love and admiration of this earl, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was almost quite forgotten by them. The courtiers cried him up; and the ladies, whose voices will carry much with some parts of the state, were exceedingly on his side." But the spectacle of one man resisting, as it were, three nations, without confidence in the master he had served, and with scarcely a resource or a hope, except such as he drew from his own abilities, was calculated to impose on others besides court gentlemen and ladies—of the mass of the people, who have been in all ages most honourably distinguished by their love of an equal combat, and their dislike of seeing one man beaten by many. The two managing lawyers, moreover, Glynne and Maynard, insisted too much upon vague and general clauses, and overdid their part with the quibbles and forced constructions of the legal profession. Again, though many of the deeds proved against the prisoner were despotic and detestable, there was scarcely one taken singly that came within the verge of treason, and the managers heaped the charges together in the design of making what was called accumulative treason. "There is nothing in this," cried Strafford, "that can be treason, and, when one thousand misdemeanors will not make one felony, shall twenty-eight misdemeanors heighten it to a treason?" They possessed not many of the letters which are now open to every reader, and which prove beyond a doubt that he was a systematic enemy of his country's liberties, a minister that would, indeed, have gone "thorough,"—who would scarcely have hesitated at any state crime. His opinions delivered in council were tolerably well known, but he maintained that the worst of these did not amount to treason. "Opinions," said he, "may make an heretic, but that they made a traitor, I have never heard till now."

On the 10th of April, Pym, Strafford's evil genius, intimated to the Commons that he had to communicate a matter of the last importance. Instantly an order was given that the members should remain in their places and

the doors be locked; and then Pym and Harry Vane the younger were called upon to declare what they knew of the matters contained in the 23rd article of the impeachment. Pym produced and read "a copy of notes taken at a junto of the privy council for the Scots affairs, about the 5th of May last." These notes had been taken by the older Vane, one of the secretaries of state; but there are different accounts of the way in which his son got possession of them. Whitelock, who was actively engaged on the trial, says that Secretary Vane, being out of town, sent his son the key of his study, that he might look into his cabinet for some papers which the secretary wanted; that the son, in looking over many papers, lighted upon these notes, which being so decisive against Strafford and so important to the public, he held himself bound in duty and conscience to discover them; and that thereupon he showed them to Pym. Others assert that the papers were purposely put in the way of his son by the elder Vane because he hated Strafford; while others again affirm, that the son purloined them to the sore displeasure of his father. The weightiest part of these private notes of the council was this—"Your majesty," Strafford was made to say, "having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man. You are absolved and loosed from all rule of government, and free to do what power will admit: and you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months."

After his reply to this additional proof, Arundel, the lord steward, told him that if he had anything further to say in his defence he should proceed, because the court intended to prepare for their speedy judgment. The prisoner, though suffering greatly in body as well as mind (for his old enemies, the gout and stone, had revisited him in the Tower), made a summary of the several parts of his former defence, and concluded with very eloquent and pathetic words.* "Certainly," adds Whitelock,

* The bitter Baillie says,—“At the end he made such a

“never any man acted such a part on such a theatre with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence; with greater reason, judgment, and temper; and with a better grace in all his words and gestures.” He moved many men to pity: but Pym was pitiless; he considered the life of the great criminal, in any circumstances, as dangerous to the liberties of his country; and he and Glynne learnedly aggravated his offences, and maintained that they should be punished as treason. On the 17th of April the point of law was argued for the earl, for Strafford was allowed counsel, which had not always been the case in prosecutions for high treason. But by this time the Commons had changed their tack, fearing the increasing good feeling of the peers towards the prisoner, and the royal prerogative of pardoning him after sentence. They had resolved to proceed with a bill of attainder against Strafford for endeavouring to subvert the liberties of his country. This bill encountered a much stronger opposition in the Commons than had been expected. Upon the 19th of April, upon the motion for the engrossment of the bill, there was a sharp debate; the eloquent Lord Digby, hitherto one of the most popular members, speaking vehemently against it. His lordship admitted that Thomas Earl of Strafford was a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment. “I believe him,” said he, “still that grand apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he

pathetic oration for half an hour as ever comedian did on the stage. The matter and expression was exceedingly brave. Doubtless, if he had grace and civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. One passage is most spoken of: his breaking off, in weeping and silence, when he spoke of his first wife. Some took it for a true defect in his memory; others for a notable part of his rhetoric; some, that true grief and remorse at that remembrance had stopped his mouth: for they say that his first lady being with child, and finding one of his mistress's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he struck her on the breast, whereof she shortly died.”

be despatched to the other." But then he objected to the validity of the evidence, which he thought had altogether failed to establish treason as the law then stood. "God keep me," said his lordship, "from giving judgment of death on any man, and of ruin to his innocent posterity, upon a law made *à posteriori*. . . . 'To condemn my Lord of Strafford judicially as for treason, my conscience is not assured that the matter will bear it: and as to doing it by the legislative power, my reason cannot agree to that; since I am persuaded neither the lords nor the *king* will pass the bill, and consequently that our passing it will be a cause of great divisions and combustions in the state. And therefore my humble advice is, that, laying aside this bill of attainder, we may think of another, saving only life, such as may secure the state from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it as much by division concerning his punishment as he hath endangered it by his practices."

In law, in reason, in humanity, Digby's speech was conclusive: but others saw no security to the state except in the block; and the violent passions of some within the House, stimulated and encouraged to action by the still more violent passions of many without, opposed themselves to his lordship, who, moreover, was now suspected, and upon very good grounds, of being won over to the court through the fascinations of the queen. On the 21st of April the bill of attainder was passed in the Commons by an immense majority,* and sent up in the after-

* Only fifty-four, or, as Whitelock says, fifty-nine members of the Lower House voted against the bill; and on the following morning the names of these gentlemen were placarded in the streets as Straffordians, who, to save a traitor, were willing to betray their country. Nalson says that exceptions were taken in the House at Digby's eloquent speech upon the Friday following, when his lordship explained; that for the present there was nothing done, though afterwards the sleeping revenge roused itself, and upon the 15th of July the speech, by order of the House, was burnt by the common hangman.—*An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State, &c.*

noon to the Lords. The peers showed no great haste in despatching the bill. To quicken them, mobs gathered round the parliament-house, crying for Strafford's blood; and a petition to the same effect, and signed by many thousands, was presented by the City of London. The Commons sent up Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, to acquaint their lordships that they had heard that the Earl of Strafford was designing to escape; and to desire that he might be made a close prisoner, and the guards strengthened. It is indeed quite certain that several attempts were made to release the prisoner, and that schemes were entertained, which, if they had succeeded, would have sent the leaders of the Commons to take his place in the Tower. Charles had hastened to assure Strafford that, though he might be forced to make some sacrifices to the violence of the times, he would never consent that so faithful a servant should suffer in life, fortune, or honours. The king entertained a plan, which seemed feasible; one hundred trusty soldiers were to be suddenly introduced into the Tower; and these men, it was calculated, would give him the entire command of that fortress. But there was one calculation in which the devisers of these various designs were in fault. Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, without whom nothing could be done, was proof to bribes and royal promises: he was attached to the popular cause,—perhaps intimidated by the formidable aspect of the City of London, and by the prospect of danger to himself;—he refused to obey the royal warrant, and turned scornfully away from Strafford, who offered him twenty-two thousand pounds, and (it is said) a matrimonial alliance.

After the utter failure of this, and of other, and far more desperate schemes, Charles resolved to try whether he could not prevail over the Commons in an audience, and on the 1st of May he called both Houses of Parliament before him, and passionately desired of them not to proceed severely against the earl. He told them that originally he had not had any intention of speaking in this business, but now it had come to pass, through their proceeding by attainder, that he, of necessity, must have

part in the judgment; he told them that they all knew he had been present at the hearing of the trial, from the one end to the other, and so was conversant with all their proceedings that way, and the nature of their evidence; that in his conscience he could not condemn him of high treason. He left it to their lordships (he never mentioned the Commons in this address) to find some way or other to bring him out of this great strait, and yet keep themselves and the kingdom safe; and he proposed that Strafford should be punished as for misdemeanors and not treason.*

On their return to their own House, the Commons testified their discontent at the king's interference, and his invasion of their privileges. The following day was a Sunday, which gave the Puritan preachers the opportunity of inflaming the popular mind, by preaching the necessity of justice upon great delinquents, and proving by Scripture texts that heaven would be highly gratified by a bloody sacrifice. Their discourses produced the desired effect: on the following morning a fierce rabble of about 6000 issued from the city, and thronged down to Westminster and the houses of parliament, with clubs and staves, crying out for justice against the Earl of Strafford. At the same time there was almost as great a ferment within the Commons House, where Pym and his friends were imparting information about some practices in the north, "to distract the English army, and to debauch them against the parliament." The Commons soon voted that it was necessary to close the seaports, and to desire his majesty to command that no person attending upon himself, the queen or prince, should depart without leave of his majesty, granted upon the humble advice of his parliament; and, after further debate, they resolved that a "Solemn Protestation" should be taken by the whole House, promising, vowing, and protesting, in the presence of God, to maintain, with their life, power, and estates, the true reformed Protestant religion against all popery and po-

* Rushworth.

lish innovation; to maintain and defend his majesty's royal person and estate, as also the power and privilege of parliaments, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject, &c. Mr. Maynard read, and probably composed this bond, which, though less emphatic, and far shorter, was an evident imitation of the Scottish Covenant. It was instantly subscribed by the Speaker, and by every member present.* Forthwith they despatched a message to the Lords, to acquaint them with their alarms, arising out of the secret practices to discontent the army, &c., and to request that a select committee might be appointed to take examinations upon oath, concerning desperate plots and designs. And at the same time the Commons agreed upon a letter to the army in the north, to assure them that they should have money, and that the House could not doubt of their affections to the parliament, notwithstanding the efforts made to corrupt them. Nor did they stop here: to provide against foreign invasion, they ordered that the forces in Wiltshire and Hampshire should be drawn towards Portsmouth, and the forces in Kent and Sussex concentrated at Dover; and they declared that any man advising or assisting the introduction of any foreign force should be reputed a public enemy to the king and kingdom.† These resolutions were sent up to the Lords in the afternoon, together with the protestation, which the Commons desired might also be taken by every member of their lordships' House. On the morrow, the 4th of May, the Lords desired a conference with the Commons; and when the two Houses met, the lord privy seal stated that his majesty had taken notice how the people assembled in such unusual numbers (while he was speaking the Houses were surrounded by another mob from the city), that the council and peace

* It was a full house, wanting only a very few members; four hundred and fifteen took the protestation. Rushworth gives the list. We know not why many historians state the number at three hundred.

† Among these resolutions was one, "that strict inquiry be made what papists, priests, and jesuits, be now about town."

of the kingdom might be thereby interrupted, and, therefore, as a king that loved peace, and made it his care that all proceedings in parliament might be free, his majesty desired that these interruptions might be removed, and wished both Houses to devise how this might be done. The Lords further declared, at this conference, that they were drawing to a conclusion of the bill of attainder, but that they were so encompassed with multitudes of people, that their lordships might be conceived not to be free, unless those multitudes were sent to their homes. This was soon done; for the Lords having agreed to and taken the Protestation, Dr. Burgess, a popular preacher, went out and addressed the mob. The doctor acquainted them with the Protestation, read that bond to them, and besought them in the name of the parliament to retire quietly to their houses; and they all departed forthwith. Soon after, the Protestation was tendered to the whole kingdom, as the Covenant had been in Scotland, with the same intimation, that whosoever refused it should be set down as an enemy to his country's liberties and religion.

Men's minds were now so over-excited by constant talk and rumours of desperate plots, that the slightest circumstance sufficed to create perilous alarm. On the 5th of May, as Sir Walter Earl was making a report to the House of some fabulous plot to blow them all up after the fashion of Guido Fawkes, the breaking or cracking of a plank under the weight of two corpulent members caused a terrible excitement, and the march of civic troops to the house. The citizens collected in immense numbers; one regiment of the train-bands armed upon heat of drum, and they all proceeded together towards Westminster to secure the parliament; but, finding there was no cause, they returned again. It may possibly be that some men looked upon this false alarm as a good experiment on the devotion of the citizens to the parliament; and the result was certainly well calculated to warn the king. On the following day the House was informed that six or eight dangerous conspirators—among whom were Henry Jermyn (the queen's favourite) and

Henry Percy, both members of the House of Commons—had fled, and that the queen was preparing to go after them. On Friday, the 7th of May, the Lords passed the bill abrogating the king's prerogative to dissolve parliament, and also the bill of attainder against Strafford. Both were passed in a thin House—for the Catholic peers would not take the Protestation, and kept away, and the friends of Strafford, it is said, were afraid of the mob. Those present voted, that the 15th and 19th articles had been fully proved, and that Strafford, as therein charged, had levied money in Ireland by force, in a war-like manner; and had forcibly imposed an unlawful oath upon the subjects in Ireland.* They consulted the judges, and the judges unanimously declared that these offences amounted to treason! The bill was passed in the Lords by a majority of twenty-six to nineteen. On the morrow, the 8th of May, the Commons requested the Lords to join with them to move his majesty for his consent to the bill of attainder, as they conceived that the peace of the kingdom depended upon the immediate execution of that bill; and the Upper House agreed to their request, and sent a certain number of peers to wait upon his majesty. Charles was now without hope and without help. His own feeling, his pride, his honour, suggested that he ought to risk any extremity rather than seal Strafford's doom; but he had not moral courage for this course. The prisoner in the Tower held his life by a thread. But still, to do something for his servant, or to salve over his own conscience, Charles, on the morrow—it was a Sunday—summoned his privy-council together at Whitehall, called in some of the judges and bishops, propounded several scruples, imparted his doubts and misgivings, and asked their opinions. Honest, plain-spoken Juxon, bishop of London, boldly advised him not to consent to the shedding of the blood of a man whom in his heart he believed to be innocent. Williams, the old bishop of Lincoln, and now about to be archbishop of York,† was of a

* Whitelock.

† Williams was promoted to York on the 4th of December of this same eventful year, 1641.

very different opinion. He told Charles "that there was a private and a public conscience; that his public conscience as a king might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man; and that the question was, not whether he should save the Earl of Strafford, but whether he should perish with him; that the conscience of a king to preserve his kingdom, the conscience of a husband to preserve his wife, the conscience of a father to preserve his children (all which were now in danger), weighed down abundantly all the considerations the conscience of a master or a friend could suggest to him, for the preservation of a friend or servant; and by such unprelatical, ignominious arguments, in plain terms, advised him, even for conscience' sake to pass that act."* Three "others of the same function, for whose learning and sincerity the king and the world had greater reverence"—Usher, primate of Armagh, Moreton, bishop of Durham, and another bishop, advised Charles to guide his conscience by the opinion of his judges. The judges, it is said, refused to give any reasons for their opinion, and merely stated that the case of Strafford, as put to them by the Lords, was treason. The majority of the council pressed upon him the votes of both Houses of Parliament and the imminent danger of a refusal; and, late on Sunday evening, Charles reluctantly subscribed a commission to give his assent to the bill. According to one account, he shed tears; according to another, he exclaimed that the condition of the doomed Strafford was happier than his own.

On the preceding Tuesday the prisoner had addressed a remarkable and a very touching letter to the king. He bemoaned the fate of his numerous progeny who must be beggared by his attainder; he spoke of the king's conscience, but he declared that he was quite ready to die in order to establish a "blessed agreement," between his majesty and his subjects,—nay, he even requested the king to pass the bill of attainder.

Some writers are of opinion that, in writing this letter,

* Clarendon, Hist.

Strafford was heroically sincere; that the prisoner was willing to throw off his afflicted mortal coil, and that his life should be a peace-offering: but we confess we cannot entertain this notion, but are rather inclined to regard the letter as having been written to work upon the feelings of the king, who might probably have been expected to use it as he had used a similar letter of Goodman (which had saved that priest's life), and without any intention or expectation on the part of Strafford that his life should be sacrificed by his master. One of the best of contemporary authorities we have to follow says, that the king sent Carleton to the prisoner to acquaint him with what he had done, and the motives of it, especially the earl's own consent to die; that Strafford then *seriously* asked whether his majesty had passed the bill or not,—“as not believing, without some astonishment, that the king would have done it,”—and that, being again assured that the bill was really passed, he rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and said, “Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.”*

Two days after the fatal Saturday, on Monday, the 10th of May, the commission empowering the Earl of Arundel (the lord privy seal) and two other lords to give the royal assent to the bill for the execution of the Earl of Strafford upon the *Wednesday* following passed the great seal; and the Commons were sent for to the Lords, to be present at the giving the royal assent to that bill, and to the bill for doing away the prerogative of dissolving parliament. And on the same day Charles sent to inform both Houses that the Irish army, which had caused so great an alarm, should be instantly disbanded; in return for which gracious message the Commons assured Charles that they would make him as glorious a potentate and as rich a prince as any of his predecessors. On the morrow, the 11th of May, only one day before that fixed for the execution, Charles sent a letter to the Lords by the hands of the young Prince of

* Whitelock.

Wales. The royal breast must have been occupied by greater fears than ever; for it is scarcely possible to conceive a more trembling and miserable petition for mercy, and the concluding words made the doom of death prominent, and, as it were, inevitable. They were these—"But, if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say '*fiat justitia*.'"

"Postscript.—If he must die, it were charity to relieve him till Saturday."

By this strange postscript Charles indeed manifestly surrendered Strafford, and gave the lords cause to suspect that he was doing something for decency but nothing in earnest. The letter was twice read in the Upper House, and after "serious and sad consideration," twelve peers were sent to tell the king that neither of the two intentions expressed in the letter could, with duty in them, or without danger to himself, the queen, and all the young princes, possibly be advised. Without permitting the twelve noble messengers to use any more words, Charles said, "What I intended by my letter was with an '*if*' it might be done with contentment of my people. If that cannot be," he added, "I say again *fiat justitia*! My other intention, proceeding out of charity for a few days' respite, was, upon certain information that his estate was so distracted that it necessarily required some few days for settlement." To this the lords replied, that it was their purpose to be suitors to his majesty, that favour might be showed to Strafford's innocent children, and that if the prisoner had made any provision for them the same might hold.* Then Charles turned away from the lords, who stayed him to offer into his hands the letter which he had just sent to them. "My lords," said Charles, "what I have written to you I shall be content it be registered by you in your house: in it you see my mind, I hope you will use it to my honour." The next day was the fatal Wednesday. During the

* Almost immediately after the execution the Commons passed a bill relieving Strafford's issue from all consequences of the attainder.

preceding night, the last of his stormy career, Strafford received the visit of Archbishop Usher, whom he requested to go to his old friend and fellow-prisoner Laud, and beg him to lend him his prayers that night, and give him his blessing when he should go abroad on the morrow. On the morrow morning, when he came forth to die, he said, as he drew near to that part of the Tower where the archbishop was confined, "Master lieutenant, though I do not see the archbishop, give me leave to do my last observance towards his rooms." But in the meantime Laud, advertised of his approach, came up to the window. Then the earl bowed himself to the ground and said, "My lord, your prayers and your blessing." The archbishop lifted up his hands and bestowed both, but overcome with grief he fell to the ground, and the procession moved onwards. But after he had proceeded a little farther, Strafford bent himself a second time, and said, "Farewell, my lord; God protect your innocence." According to the laborious Rushworth, the clerk of the parliament, and one of the innumerable eye-witnesses, he marched towards the scaffold upon Tower Hill more like a general at the head of an army than like a condemned man. He was attended upon the scaffold by Archbishop Usher, the Earl of Cleveland, and his brother Sir George Wentworth; and other friends were present to take their last leave. The multitude collected to see him die was estimated at 100,000 men, women, and children; but all preserved a respectful and awe-struck silence. He had prepared the heads of a speech, which he now delivered.* He said, that he was come to submit to the judgment passed against him; that he did submit with a quiet and contented mind, freely forgiving all the world. His conscience, he said, bore him witness that he was innocent, although it was his ill-hap to be misconstrued. The executioner severed his neck at one blow, and holding up the bleeding head towards the people, cried, "God save the king." The people scarcely believed what they

* This paper was picked up on the scaffold after his head had fallen.

saw ; they shouted not, they gave way to no malignant or triumphant feelings ; but in the evening they testified their joy and satisfaction by lighting bonfires in the streets.*

The death of Strafford completed the panic among the old placemen, most of whom now abandoned office in the hope of escaping impeachment. St. John had already been made attorney-general, and one of his first offices as such had been to drive on the trial of the great earl. On the 17th of May, the Lord Cottington gave up his place as master of the wards, which was conferred upon the puritanic and patriotic Lord Saye. The Marquess of Hertford was made governor to the prince, the Earl of Essex lord chamberlain, and the Earl of Leicester, another nobleman of the popular party, was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. All these men were strong in the confidence of the House of Commons, but, from their first moment of entering upon office, they were intolerable to the king, who never trusted them, and who pursued so many by-paths with them that they ended (possibly they had begun) by never trusting him. On the 22nd of June the Commons presented to the king their grant of tonnage and poundage, which he now accepted as a gift from his people. Six subsidies had also been voted. Three other acts were likewise presented, one imposing a poll-tax for the defraying of the charges of the armies, the second and third putting down for ever the High Commission Court and the detestable Star-chamber, which had, in fact, both fallen into decrepitude at the opening of the present parliament. On the 2nd of July, Charles gave his assent to the poll-tax bill, probably hoping that it would disgust the people, and turn them against their new legislators or rulers ; but he demurred upon the other two acts. The Commons voted that he should pass all three, or none at all ; and Charles, alarmed at their tone, on the 5th of July, passed the other two also.

The important events which we have had to condense

* Rushworth.—Nelson.—May.—Sir Philip Warwick.

have carried us over some family incidents which were far from being of insignificant moment. In the autumn of 1638, the intriguing, turbulent, conscienceless Mary de' Medici, Queen Dowager of France, and mother to Henrietta-Maria, arrived in England, and was conducted in great state through London. Cardinal Richelieu, after a hard contest, had driven her out of France with disgrace and in poverty. Her daughter, the queen of Spain, could not, or would not, grant her an asylum: the queen of England had more filial tenderness, or more power, and after long entreaties she prevailed upon Charles to receive and maintain her. 'The country, the religion, the manners of this royal refugee all rendered her obnoxious to the people. 'The sailors who brought her over called the equinoctial gales which raged during her passage "queen-mother-weather; and popular superstition connected the coming of the papist and idolatress with a pestilence that was then raging. Nor were these prejudices removed by the liberality of the king, who granted her an enormous pension, and a patent or monopoly upon leather.

Whenever the popular excitement was great, Mary de' Medici and her train of priests came in for a large share of abuse. Terrified at some great crowds and tumults, she desired a guard for her security. The Commons, saying that they were bound in honour not to suffer any violence to be done to her, referred the business to a committee. Mr. Henry Martin reported that the committee had agreed to provide for her safety by all good ways and means; being, however, of opinion that the best thing she could do was to be gone out of England, he moved that the House would entreat the Lords to join with them in a petition to his majesty that the queen-mother might be moved to depart the kingdom, the rather for the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's well affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about the queen's person, by the flocking of priests and papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass.* Charles,

* Rushworth.

however, held out; but Mary de' Medici was made restless and wretched by constant alarms, and soon showed that she was more anxious to leave England than ever she had been to come to it. The only thing that was wanting was money for her journey, and the Commons gladly voted her 10,000*l.* out of the poll-tax. In the month of July she took her departure, to become again a homeless wanderer; but she did not wander far, dying at Cologne shortly after.

On the 4th of August, Serjeant Wild, in the name of the Commons of England, presented at the bar of the Upper House charges of impeachment against thirteen bishops* who had been most active in pursuing Laud's system, and who were especially charged with contriving, making, and promulgating, in the late convocation, several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, contrary to the king's prerogative, the laws of the realm, the rights of parliament, and the properties and liberties of the people. By this measure, though the bill for depriving prelates of their seats had been lost, thirteen bishops were kept away from parliament.

The Scottish Covenanters, on the whole, had had a very comfortable time of it in the north of England: it had been for the interest of the Commons to keep them well supplied with money, and to administer to their comforts in other respects. The military duty was light, allowing an abundance of time for preaching and praying; and the English people in those provinces had before, or they then contracted, an affection for the

* They were Winchester, Coventry, Gloucester, Exeter, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Hereford, Ely, Bangor, Bristol, Rochester, Peterborough, and Llandaff; and the name of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was put at the end of the list. The Commons did not forget to take notice of their bribes to the king. They said, in their impeachment, "And to add more weight and efficacy to this their monstrous design, they did, at the same synod, under a specious and fair title, grant a benevolence or contribution to his majesty, to be paid by the clergy of that province, contrary to law."

Calvinistic doctrine. As long as the royal army was kept on foot at York, the parliament considered it unsafe to permit the departure of Leslie's army; and it was very easy for them to prolong the negotiations: but at length, in the beginning of August, the treaty of pacification was concluded—Charles agreeing, not merely to disband his army at York, but also to withdraw the strong garrisons which he had thrown into Berwick and Carlisle. The Scots obtained the security of the English parliament for payment of a balance of 220,000*l.* of the "brotherly assistance," and "with store of English money and spoils, and the best entertainment, they left their warm and plentiful quarters"—not, however, until Leslie had seen that Charles's army was really disbanding. During the negotiations, Charles had offered to go into Scotland, and to meet the Scottish parliament for the better settlement of sundry matters; and as early as the month of June he had announced his intention of making this journey. But it in no way suited the English parliament to let him go at this moment, nor could his utmost efforts obtain their permission until the 10th of August. The popular party considered the journey as rife with danger and intrigue; and some of them, even at the last moment, would have prevented it. They desired the king to appoint a regent during his absence; but Charles got over this difficulty by naming commissioners, and, having given the command of all the forces on this side Trent to the popular Earl of Essex, he got into his carriage ruminating deep things, being attended by none in the coach but his nephew, Charles Louis Elector Palatine (who had got out of Richelieu's clutches), by his cousin, the Duke of Lennox, created Duke of Richmond, and by the Marquess of Hamilton. He had not been gone a week when the Earl of Holland, formerly the queen's favourite, but now irritated against her and the whole court, sent a letter to the House of Peers "with some obscure words, as if there were new practices and designs against the parliament." The Lords imparted the contents of the letter to the Commons, who forthwith appointed commissioners to go into

Scotland, ostensibly to superintend the ratification of the recent treaty, but in reality to keep watch over the king, and, in the language of their instructions, "to certify the parliament from time to time of their proceedings, and of all occurrences which shall concern the good of this kingdom." The persons appointed for these delicate offices were, the Earl of Bedford, Edward Lord Howard, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir William Armyne, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Mr. Hampden; and a draft of a commission was sent after the king for him to sign, empowering the said commissioners to treat, confer, and conclude with such commissioners as should be named by the Scottish parliament. Charles, very anxious to avoid this surveillance, refused to sign the commission, and told the English parliament that he did so because the treaty was already ratified by the parliament of Scotland. The Scottish army was over the Tweed, and the lord-general had almost disbanded all the English army; and therefore his majesty saw no necessity for such commission, yet, in the end, was pleased to give leave to the members named to come and attend him in Scotland, &c. This answer was not written till the 25th of August. For reasons not explained, the Earl of Bedford did not go, but Lord Howard, Mr. Hampden, and the rest, hastened into Scotland.

In the mean time the king had made a pleasant journey, and met with a kind reception. He dined with Leslie in his camp, caressed that old soldier of fortune, and endeavoured to corrupt his officers.* At Edinburgh, bowing to the prevalent intolerance, and forgetting his own, and the lessons of Laud, he listened with an approving countenance to the Presbyterian preachers, and

* Leslie himself was a man not very likely to fall into the trap. Some time before he had expressed to a friend his sense of Charles's good intentions towards him. "His majesty," said he, "with all reverence would see me hanged." And then the old campaigner referred to his easy means of living well elsewhere. "Last of all," said he, "I can live abroad, and get preferment with honour."—*Dalrymple, Memorials*

outwardly conformed to their simple or bare ceremonies. It was a curious, and, for him, a humiliating sight ! The Scots could hardly forget how, a few months before, he had endeavoured to drive them from that worship by cannon balls. And as it seemed necessary for the king of the Presbyterian Scots to have a Presbyterian chaplain, Charles appointed to that office Alexander Henderson, the man who had had a principal hand in overthrowing the bishops and writing the bond of the covenant.* At the same time, so far from showing any ill-will towards the chiefs of the Covenanters, he treated them all, whether lay or clergy, nobles or burghers, with a great show of respect and even affection. Some he gratified with titles, some with employment, all with promises. In his opening speech to the parliament, he declared that affection for his native land had brought him thither, where he hoped to remedy all jealousies and distractions ; and he engaged cheerfully to fulfil all that had been stipulated in the treaty. He reminded them, however, of his ancient descent, and of the rights and high standing which that circumstance ought to give him. Not looking at history with a critical eye, he told them that he claimed their allegiance as the descendant of one hundred and eight Scottish kings ; and he offered to ratify the acts of their last session in the old form by the touch of his sceptre. The Covenanters, not much moved by the oratorical part of the address, told him that the acts of the Scottish parliament were valid without such assent.

The chief offices of the state were now vacant ; and parliament claimed the right of appointment to these places, or at least insisted that they should not be filled except by their advice. Charles struggled hard to save this his last or only remaining prerogative in Scotland : but the Covenanters were not only suspicious of the king's appointments, but anxious to keep their government independent of the cabinet of St. James's, to which it had

* " Henderson," says Wemys, " is greater with him than even Canterbury was ; he is never from him day nor night."

been subservient—occasionally to the detriment of Scottish interests and national honour—ever since James had succeeded to the throne of Elizabeth; and they opposed with all their might the assumption of the prerogative. There was, however, one gleam of comfort for the king in this long struggle about offices; he saw many noble Scots so fiercely bent on the obtaining of places for themselves, that he fancied they must break out into feuds and parties, some of which might yet rally round him. According to an eye-witness, he promised on all sides, and granted, at least in words, whatever was asked. In the end the parties came to an *accommodation*; the Covenanted leaders in parliament agreed to reduce the number of incendiaries to five, to release the incendiaries and plotters from prison, and to refer their trial to a committee, their sentence to the king; and Charles agreed that the appointment of ministers, judges, and privy-counsellors should be by and with the approbation of the estates while parliament was sitting, and of the privy council when it was adjourned or dissolved. But still the matter was far from being settled: Argyle, the great champion of the Covenant, desired the post of chancellor; Charles preferred giving it to Loudon, whom he had committed to the Tower for the famous letter “Au Roy.” While the discontent was great, and intrigue in full activity, there happened what Scottish historians significantly call “The Incident.” Argyle, who was feared and detested by the king, and Hamilton, who had incurred the royal suspicion ever since he had consented to play that double part with the Covenanters, which Charles had put upon him as a proof of his loyalty and affection, were the most powerful men in the Scottish parliament. If they could be crushed the king might yet raise his head, or so he fondly fancied. There was a third noble Scot involved in “the incident,”—a man far more remarkable than the former two: this was the brave, adroit, and unprincipled Earl of Montrose, who had already been, by turns, courtier and Covenanter, and then king’s man again. He had marched into England with the army of Leslie; he had enjoyed, as we have

seen, the entire confidence of the Covenanters; he had been appointed one of their commissioners to treat with the king at Ripon and York; and, in the latter place, he had been won over by the graces, the arts, and promises of Charles to betray his colleagues. It was agreed between them that Montrose, in order to be more useful, should continue to play the part of a zealous Covenanter. Charles, with all his cunning, was at times very careless; he kept in his pocket, at York, a letter, in which Montrose engaged to do his service; and this letter was stolen out of his pocket, copied, and sent to the Covenanters. Whitelock says, that this was done by Hamilton. While Montrose had time he assured the king, by letter, that there were men in Scotland who, if supported by his majesty's presence, would both make and prove a charge of treason against Hamilton and Argyle; but he and some of his associates were soon arrested, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh as plotters and banders. It was observed, however, that Charles did not treat Hamilton with his former respect or favour; and one day the Lord Kerr sent him a charge of treason. Hamilton appealed to the parliament, which declared him innocent, and compelled Kerr to make an apology. Montrose, from his dungeon, found means of communicating with the king, and he repeated his charge against Hamilton and Argyle; and, according to Clarendon, who does not appear to have been much shocked at the proposal, "frankly undertook" to make away with them both. About a fortnight after this Hamilton was warned of a plot to have him seized, as he entered the presence-chamber, by an armed band, under the command of the Earl of Crawford,—the man who had carried to him Kerr's challenge of treason, and who was to convey him and his brother Lanark, and the Earl of Argyle, on board a king's ship which was lying in Leith roads, or to kill them in case of resistance or difficulty. Hamilton had time to communicate with his friends; and then he, his brother, and Argyle secured themselves as well as they could, and their associates in Edinburgh fortified their houses, and spread the alarm among the citizens, who

flew to arms, and paraded the streets all night. On the following morning Hamilton and the other noblemen wrote to inform his majesty of the reasons of their absentsing themselves the preceding night from court, and desired to know what his majesty would be pleased to command them to do: but Charles was not satisfied with their letters; and in the afternoon he proceeded to the parliament-house with near "five hundred soldiers, and the worst affected men about him, with their arms in a menacing way." "To prevent tumult in the streets," says Lanark, "we resolved to leave the town, which could not have been shunned if we had gone to the parliament-house with our friends at our backs, who would by no means condescend to leave us."* "The king's array," Baillie writes, "broke in near-hand to the parliament's outer wall. The states were mightily offended, and would not be pacified till Leslie had got a commission, very absolute, to guard the parliament, with all the bands of the city and regiments yet on foot, and some troops of horse."

Charles complained of the absence of the three noblemen, and of the vile slander which their needless flight and fear had brought upon him. "He professed to detest all such vile treacheries as were spoken of; urged a present trial, in face of parliament, for the more clearing of his innocency." The states hesitated, and proposed the appointing of a committee for a more accurate trial in private than could have been had in public. It has been asserted that the objection to a public investigation was, that the king's presence would overawe the freedom of inquiry; but it should seem to us that the humbled king had then little power to overawe anybody in Scotland. The parliament made fast the Earl of Crawford, Colonel Cochrane, and Colonel Stewart, who were accused of being the principal instruments in the plot; and the king departed dissatisfied. Yet for several days Charles repeated his demand for a public trial, even shedding tears to obtain it; but the more popular

* Lanark's Letters, in Hardwicke State Papers.

party insisted on a private investigation ; and Charles was at last obliged to give up the point to a committee. " Many evil-favoured things," says Baillie, " were found ; yet in the papers that went abroad we found nothing that touched the king." The investigation was so secret in all respects that no records or reports of its proceedings have been preserved, and, together with the rest of the story of " the incident," it still remains an historical mystery. The end of it was, that, after some two or three weeks' absence, upon the king's and parliament's letters the fugitive lords returned, and at once seemed to have as much of the king's confidence as ever. " Sure," says Baillie, " their late danger was the means to increase their favour with the parliament ; so, whatever ruling they had before, it was then multiplied." Shortly after Hamilton was made a duke, and Argyle a marquess.*

But, before this satisfactory adjustment was brought about, the " incident" produced great suspicions and stirrs in London. The English parliament, which had sat for eleven months, adjourned from the 9th of September to the 20th of October, taking care, however, to leave a standing committee of both Houses to act during the short recess. On the appointed day the Houses met again ; and the Lords, observing Palace-yard to be full of armed men, moved to know the reason thereof. The Earl of Essex, captain-general of the South, signified to their Lordships that the committee of the House of Commons which sat during the recess had desired that there might be a guard of soldiers set about the parliament, to prevent the insolence and affronts of the disbanded sol-

* Balfour.—Malcolm Laing.—Baillie's Letters.—Hardwicke Papers.—Clarendon, Hist.—It appears that the Scottish Committee of Investigation declared that Hamilton and Argyle were falsely accused by Montrose, and also that they (Hamilton and Argyle) had good reasons for fleeing from Edinburgh. Evelyn says that, subsequently, the English privy council examined the matter, and declared that no imputation could be cast upon the honour of the king for anything done by *himself* therein.

diers about town, and to secure the Houses against other designs which they had reason to suspect. In effect, Lord Howard, Hampden, and the other parliamentary commissioners sent into Scotland, had instantly communicated the affair of "the incident," and this was interpreted into a vast conspiracy, which was to embrace the three kingdoms, and which was, as usual, denominated a plot of the Papists. And thereupon the Commons had sent to the lord mayor to secure the city of London, and had required the justices of Middlesex and Surrey to obey such orders as the Earl of Essex might think fit to give them for the public safety. Now they desired a conference with the Lords, to express their sense of the great danger to the nation from a conspiracy with many ramifications, and from the old design of seducing the English army. The Lords, in conference, fully agreed with the Commons, and thereupon new instructions were sent down to Howard and Hampden, and their brother commissioners. But everything that Charles now did, or left undone, was made an object of doubt and suspicion, and guarded against by the vigilance of the popular party. It seemed to all men a strange circumstance that he should prolong his stay in Scotland, when his presence was so much required in England; and many, both friends and foes, were murmuring at it. He had most of the crown jewels with him, and it was thought that he had endeavoured to bribe some of the Scottish leaders with them—the said jewels to be afterwards redeemed by money;—and by this time it was known that the great collar of rubies had been conveyed into Holland, and there pawned. General Leslie, who a short time before had expressed his assurance that the king would hang him if he could, was created a Scottish peer, with the title of Earl of Leven. It is said that the soldier of fortune was profuse in his expressions of gratitude, and promised never again to take up the sword against his sacred majesty. One or two other earldoms were conferred on Covenantee leaders; and out of the revenues of the dissolved bishoprics, &c., the king dispensed gratuities to many individuals, including, it is said, his Pres-

byterian chaplain, Henderson. But presently there came a blast from Ireland, which caused all men to turn their eyes solely to that country.

The Irish people, far more oppressed than ever the Scots had been—for they had been deprived not only of their religious freedom, but of their rights in their own property—were encouraged by the example of the Scots, and the successful issue of that struggle, to contemplate the possibility of a similar victory in their own case over the tyranny that bound them. It was not merely their religion that tempted them—it was also a prospect of recovering the broad acres which they had once possessed, and which were now in the hands of the descendants of the foreign invaders and Protestant colonists. Theirs was a struggle, not merely for the eucharist, but for loaves of bread. Roger Moore, a gentleman of Kildare, of ancient descent, who saw the patrimony of his ancestors in the hands of English and Scotch settlers, was one of the first and most active agents in the present rising. Within narrow limits Moore had played the part of John of Procida: he had visited most parts of Ireland, and secretly harangued the discontented natives, who generally agreed to rise when called upon. In Ulster, Cornelius Maguire, baron of Inniskillen, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, who, after the death of the son of Tyrone, became chieftain of his sept, entered with ardour into all the views of Roger Moore, and it was agreed among them to prepare for a general insurrection. Strafford had held that the best card the king had to play, was the Irish army which he had raised; and Charles had sent instructions (he hoped secret ones) to the Earls of Ormond and Antrim, to secure this army, to recruit it, and, if possible to surprise the castle of Dublin, where they would find ammunition, stores, and arms, for twelve thousand men. But this Irish army, this last card of a desperate gamester, consisted almost entirely of Catholics, and was an object of dread or suspicion, not only to the English parliament, but also to all Irish Protestants. With great difficulty, an order was wrung from the king for the disbanding of this force; but, in remitting the order to Ire-

land, Charles sent with it a secret message to Ormond and Antrim to keep as many of the men together as they possibly could, using their ingenuity to devise pretexts for so doing, and to lull asleep the suspicions of the Protestant Irish. One of the plans hit upon for keeping the Irish troops together was, to pretend that they were to be allowed to enter the service of the Spanish government of Flanders, and regular commissions were sent to certain picked officers to enlist the whole body, as if for the King of Spain. Of the two higher agents, Antrim was the more active: he intrigued with these picked officers, and these officers intrigued with some of the members of the Irish parliament, who were glad to learn that the army was not, in reality, maintained for service abroad, but for the king's service at home. The English, the Scots, had disobliged his majesty: if the Irish could restore him to his former state, what might they not expect from his gratitude? If the Catholic Irish loved their religion, what had they to expect from the parliament of England, which was fiercely Protestant,—which denounced the Papists at every move they took,—which coerced alike the king's prerogative and the conscience of the subject? Appeals like these produced a wonderful effect. In a short time, though their views were different, some of the officers and men were in intelligence with Cornelius Maguire, Sir Phehm O'Neal, and the other chieftains of Ulster, with Roger Moore, and with the converts he had made in all parts. Some intimations were given by Sir William Cole, in a letter to the lords justices of Ireland, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, concerning dangerous resorts and secret meetings, but no one received any certain notice of the conspiracy till the very eve of its execution. It had been agreed that the plot should take effect upon the 23rd of October. On the 22nd, many of the Irish gentry of great quality went into Dublin, but many failed the rendezvous, and, of a forlorn hope, appointed to surprise or storm the castle, only eighty men appeared. In the course of that night Hugh MacMahon got drunk in a tavern, and revealed the great design to one Owen

O'Connelly of Irish extraction, but a Protestant, and servant to Sir John Clotworthy, a member of the English parliament. This Owen hastened to reveal what he had heard to Sir William Parsons; and Dublin Castle was saved. But in other parts the bloody rising took place without check or warning. The Ulster chieftains and their associates fell furiously upon the towns: Sir Phelim O'Neal took Charlemont and Dungannon; O'Quin took Mountjoy; M'Ginnis, Newry; and O'Hanlan took Tanderagee. No man made head against them; the Protestant settlers were robbed and butchered almost without resistance. No capitulation or agreement signed by the chiefs and officers could rescue them from the fury of the more than half-naked Irish peasantry. The flames spread far and near, and in a few days all the open country in Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, Derry, and part of Down, was in the hands of the insurgents. In the course of a few weeks the English and Scottish colonies seemed to be almost everywhere uprooted. The Protestants exaggerated their loss, but still it remains certain that the massacre was prodigious. The colonists of Ulster, a brave and active set of men, but who were taken completely by surprise, as they were living at the time in seeming good fellowship with the natives, were so reduced in numbers by the first onslaught, that they could make no head for a considerable time after. Sir John Temple,* who was at that time master of the rolls and a member of the Irish privy council, described the insurgents as murdering or stripping and driving out men, women, and children, wherever their force or their cunning prevailed. 'The Earl of Castlehaven,' a Catholic, says that all the water in the sea could not wash off from the Irish the taint of that rebellion, which begun most bloodily on the English in a time of settled peace. Clarendon says that forty or fifty thousand were murdered in the first insurrection; and, if, instead of first insurrection, we read during the whole insurrection, that is, from

* Father of the better known Sir William Temple.

the breaking out, in October, 1641, to the cessation, in September, 1643, this number will not be exaggerated; nor will it include the Protestants who fell in regular warfare with arms in their hands.

On the last day of October O'Connelly, "the happy discoverer of the first plot," arrived in London with letters from the lords justices, and gave a full account of all particulars within his knowledge to the House of Lords. The lords forthwith desired a conference, and the House of Commons resolved that they should forthwith sit in committee to consider of the rebellion in Ireland, and to provide for the safety of England. This tragical business occupied the House of Commons nearly the whole of the month of November. They showed a rare vigour and alacrity. Within a week they resolved that 200,000*l.* should be set apart for the Irish government; that ships should be provided for guarding the Irish coasts; that 6000 foot and 2000 horse should be raised for the Irish service; and that the committee of Irish affairs should consider in what manner this kingdom might make the best use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland.

The king had received the dreadful news in Scotland before O'Connelly arrived in London. In Scotland, as in England, the effect produced was appalling, and in both countries, from the very beginning, the general feeling connected the bloody massacre with the intrigues of the king and queen. Charles named the Earl of Ormond lieutenant-general of all his forces in Ireland; and, at last, at the end of November, he took the road for London, where people continued to wonder at his protracted absence. Upon his arrival in the city he was received with some congratulations, and was sumptuously feasted by the citizens; all which led him to hope that he might again be a king indeed. In return he banqueted the citizens at Hampton Court, and knighted several of the aldermen. He instantly took offence at the Houses surrounding themselves with an armed guard. The Earl of Essex acquainted the Lords that he had surrendered his commission of captain-general of the South into his

majesty's hands, and therefore could take no further order for these guards. The intelligence was communicated by their lordships to the Commons. Then Charles informed the Houses, through the lord keeper, that as he saw no reason for any such guards, it was his royal pleasure that they should be dismissed, hoping that now his presence would be a sufficient protection to them. As soon as this order was communicated to the Commons, they proposed that both Houses should petition the king for the continuance of the guard till they might satisfy his majesty why a guard was necessary. After some dispute the Lords consented, and the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Digby waited upon the king, who thereupon said, that he would command the Earl of Dorset to appoint some of the train bands, only for a few days, to wait upon both Houses. The Commons, not satisfied, considered the matter in committee, and drew up reasons to prove the necessity of a protection. They also told the king that they could not trust him with the nomination of the commander of their guard, who must be a person chosen by themselves.

Two days after this the Commons presented to the king their celebrated "Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom." This paper was brought before the House on the 22nd of November. The House had sat from eight o'clock till about noon, the hour at which the members usually retired to dine. Then there was a loud call for the remonstrance. Some would have postponed it, at so late an hour, but Oliver Cromwell, and some others, insisted that they should proceed with it. Oliver Cromwell, who at that time was little taken notice of, asked the Lord Falkland why he would have it put off, for that day would have settled it. Falkland answered, that there would not have been time enough, "for sure it would take some debate." Cromwell replied, "a very sorry one;" for he and his party had calculated that very few would oppose the remonstrance.* But Cromwell was

* Clarendon. This writer thus, not very incorrectly, describes the remonstrance: "It contained a very bitter repre-

disappointed, for there was a formidable opposition, consisting of men who considered the remonstrance as an extreme measure, appealing too openly to the people against the king and government; and so fierce and long was the debate about it, that it took up not only the day, but a good part of the night also; and though the popular party carried it at two o'clock in the morning, it was only by a majority of nine, or according to another account, of eleven. At the beginning of the debate there was a full House, but before its close many of the members had retired from exhaustion;* and hence the decision was compared to the verdict of a starved jury. So important a trial of strength was it deemed, that Oliver Cromwell is said to have declared, after the division, that he would have sold his estate, and retired to America, if the question had been lost. A violent debate then followed, on the motion of Mr. Hampden, that there might be an order entered for the present printing of their remonstrance; and the excitement became so great, that several members were on the point of proceeding to personal violence. Mr. Hyde (Clarendon) maintained, that to print and publish the remonstrance, *without the consent of the Peers*, was illegal; and upon a division, the popular side lost this question by 124 to 101.

The remonstrance thus carried, was certainly put forward to stem the returning tide of loyalty, by men who felt that the king's love of arbitrary dominion was much better proved than his sincerity in relinquishing it;† who were informed on all sides that Charles deplored

sensation of all the illegal things which had been done from the first hour of the king's coming to the crown to that minute; with all the sharp reflections which could be made upon the king himself, the queen, and council; and published all the unreasonable jealousies of the present government, of the introducing popery; and all other particulars that might disturb the minds of the people: which were enough discomposed."

* Three hundred and seven, however, remained to vote. The majority, according to the journals of the Commons, was 159; the minority 148.

† Hallam.

the restrictions put upon him by the parliament, and was constantly making efforts or forming designs to shake off those restrictions. The paper consisted of a long preamble, and 206 several clauses. From the lending of English shipping to the Papist forces proceeding against the Protestant Rochellers to the rumoured Popish plots of the day—from the imprisonment of Sir John Eliot to the late army plot—nothing was omitted that told against Charles and his government.

Sir Ralph Hopeton presented this paper to the king at Hampton Court on the evening of the 1st of December. Charles, at the reading of it, hesitated at the charges respecting a malignant party, and the design of altering religion, and said, "The devil take him, whosoever he be, that hath a design of that sort." He also stopped at the reading of that part of the remonstrance which gave the lands of the rebels in Ireland to those who should suppress the rebellion, and said, "We must not dispose of the bear's skin till the bear be dead." When the petition was read, Charles asked several questions, but Hopeton told him that he had no power to speak to any thing without the permission of the Commons. "Doth the House intend to publish this declaration?" said Charles. Again Hopeton said that he could not answer.

On the following day the king sent to the Commons his answer to the petition which accompanied the remonstrance. He told them that he thought their declaration or remonstrance unparliamentary; that he could not at all understand what was meant by a wicked and malignant party; that the bishops were entitled to their votes in parliament by the laws of the kingdom, and that their inordinate power was sufficiently abridged by the taking away of the High Commission Court; that he would consider of a proposal for the calling of a national synod, to examine church ceremonies, &c.; that he was persuaded in his conscience that the church of England professed the true religion, with more purity than any other; that its government and discipline were more beautified and free from superstition; and that, as for the removing of evil counsellors, they must name who they

were, bringing a particular charge, and sufficient proofs, against them, and forbearing their general aspersions.

Two Scotch commissioners came up to concert measures with the English parliament for the suppression of the Irish rebellion ; but they had many tales both to tell and to hear, which had no reference to that business. On the 8th of December the Commons debated upon certain propositions about to be offered to his majesty by the Irish rebels, who, as a preliminary, asked for a full toleration of the Catholic religion ; and it was resolved, both by the Lords and Commons of England, that they would never give consent to any toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other of his majesty's dominions ! During the debate a great stir was caused by the report that a guard had been set near the parliament without their privity. Forthwith the Commons sent a serjeant-at-arms to bring the commander of that guard to their bar. The officer said that the sheriff had received a writ to that purpose, and that the soldiers had a warrant from the justices of the peace. The Commons immediately resolved that this was a dangerous breach of the privileges of their House, and that the guards should be discharged.

Six days after (on the 14th of December) the king spoke to both Houses upon the business of Ireland. He again complained of the slowness of their proceedings, and recommended despatch. These delays had in part arisen out of the Commons' jealousy of the royal prerogative of levying troops. Charles spoke directly to this point, and told them that he had taken notice of the bill for pressing of soldiers, now debating among the Lords ; and that in case the bill came to him in such a shape as not to infringe or diminish his prerogative, he would pass it as they chose. " And, further," said he, " seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholden to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer that the bill may pass with a *salvo jure* both for king and people, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear them. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this bill pass not, but

theirs that refuse so fair an offer.”* Parliament took fire at this speech, and Lords and Commons instantly joined in a petition touching the privileges of parliament, the birthright and inheritance not only of themselves, but of the whole kingdom. They declared, with all duty, that the king ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation and debate in either house, except by their information; that he ought not to propose any condition, provision, or limitation to any bill in debate or preparation, nor express his consent or dissent, approbation or dislike, until the bill was presented to him in due course. They complained that his majesty had broken those privileges in his speech, particularly in mentioning the bill of impress, in offering a provisional clause before it was presented, and in expressing his displeasure against such as moved a question concerning the same: and they desired to know the names of such persons as had seduced his majesty to that item, that they might be punished as his great council should advise. The parliament at first resolved not to proceed with any business till they had a satisfactory answer to their petition; and, during their heat, hints were thrown out that the Irish rebels were actually favoured by some about the queen; “and divers went yet higher.”

On the very next day (the 15th of December) the motion for printing the remonstrance, which had been lost on the 22nd of November by a majority of 23, was triumphantly carried by 135 to 83. This striking paper, when distributed through the country, was of more effect than an army could have been.

Charles, moody and discontented, withdrew to Hampton Court to prepare an answer to the remonstrance in the shape of a declaration. He chose this very moment of doubt and suspicion for an attempt to get the Tower of London into his hands by changing the governor or lieutenant. Upon the 20th of December a report was made to the vigilant Commons that his majesty intended to remove Sir William Balfour, the sturdy lieu-

* Rushworth.—Whitelock.

tenant who had secured the Earl of Strafford for them ; and they ordered that Sir William should appear before them the very next day. Balfour attended, and was examined touching the causes of his removal ; after which the house fell into debate about a petition to be presented to his majesty for continuing him in his charge. But on the following day Sir William resigned the keys of the Tower to the king, who forthwith appointed Colonel Lunsford, who took the oaths, and entered upon the charge. The very day after this appointment the common councilmen and others of the city of London petitioned the House of Commons against it, representing this Colonel Lunsford as a man outlawed, most notorious for outrages, and therefore fit for any desperate enterprise, and reminding the House that they (the citizens) had lately been put into fear of some dangerous design from that citadel. The Commons demanded a conference with the Lords, and communicated to their lordships the petition from the city, representing the unfitness of Lunsford for a place of such great trust, and desired their lordships to concur in a remonstrance, and in a prayer to the king to recommend Sir John Conyers to be lieutenant, under the command of that honourable person the Earl of Newport, who was constable of the Tower. The Lords declined doing anything. Then the Commons passed the following vote :—" Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that this House holds Colonel Lunsford unfit to be, or continue, lieutenant of the Tower, as being a person whom the Commons of England cannot confide in." When this was done they sent to desire a second conference with the Peers. The managers of this conference, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pym, Mr. Strode, Sir Edmond Montfort, Mr. Glynn, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Martin, and Sir John Hobham, importuned their lordships to join in their petition for removing Colonel Lunsford, alleging that they already found the evil consequence of his being lieutenant, inasmuch as merchants had already withdrawn their bullion out of the Mint, &c. Still the Lords refused to join. That same evening, being Christmas eve,

the Commons ordered that Sir Thomas Barrington and Mr. Martin should that night repair to the Earl of Newport, constable of the Tower, and desire him, in the name of their house, to lodge and reside within the citadel, and take the custody and entire care of that place. The two members went, but the Earl of Newport was not to be found. The second day after this, being Sunday, the 26th of December, the lord mayor waited upon his majesty, to tell him that the apprentices of London were contemplating a rising, to carry the Tower by storm, unless he should be pleased to remove his new lieutenant. That same evening Charles took the keys from Colonel Lunsford. On the morrow Sir Thomas Barrington reported to the Commons that the Earl of Newport had been with him on Sunday evening, to tell him that the king had discharged him from the constablership of the Tower. This earl, though very acceptable to the citizens, was odious to the king, who, at this moment—this critical moment—had a violent altercation with him, which was reported to the House of Lords on the same Monday morning.

All this day the Houses of Parliament were surrounded by tumultuous multitudes—for it was not yet publicly known that the king had removed Colonel Lunsford. The citizens that had petitioned against that officer collected at Westminster for an answer to that petition, and the London apprentices were there also for an answer to their petition. It was a Monday morning, and they made of it a most noisy St. Monday, crying out, "Beware of plots! No bishops! no bishops!" Old Bishop Williams seems to have lost his coolness and circumspection with increase of age. On his way to the House of Lords with the Earl of Dover, observing a youth crying out lustily against the bishops, he stepped from the earl, rushed into the crowd, and laid hands upon the stripling. Thereupon the citizens rescued the youth, and about a hundred of them coming up so hemmed in the lord bishop, that he could not stir; and then all of them with a loud voice cried out "No bishops!" The mob let old Williams go, apparently without injuring him;

but one David Hide, a reformado in the late army against the Scots, and now appointed to go upon some command into Ireland, began to bustle, and to say that he would cut the throats of those round-headed dogs* that bawled against bishops. Nor did this David Hide stop at threats, for he drew his sword, and called upon three or four others with him to second him; but his comrades refused, and he was soon disarmed by the citizens and carried before the House of Commons, who first committed him, and afterwards cashiered him. On the same stormy Monday, Colonel Lunsford, the recently dismissed lieutenant of the Tower, went through Westminster Hall, with no fewer than thirty or forty friends at his back. A fray ensued, the colonel drew his sword, and some hurt was done among the citizens and apprentices. Presently there came swarming down to Westminster some hundreds more of apprentices and others, with swords, staves, and other weapons. The Lords sent out the gentleman-usher, to bid them depart in the king's name. The people said that they were willing to be gone, but durst not, because Colonel Lunsford and other swordsmen in Westminster Hall were lying in wait for them with their swords drawn, and because some of them that were going home through Westminster Hall had been slashed and wounded by those soldiers. With great difficulty the lord mayor and sheriffs appeased this tumult, which caused the loss of some blood, and which was the prelude to the fiercer battles that soon followed between the Roundheads and Cavaliers.

* Rushworth attributes the origin of the term Roundhead to this David Hide:—"Which passionate expression," says he, "as far as I could ever learn, was the first minting of that term or compellation of Roundheads, which afterwards grew so general."

END OF VOL. XI.

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CONTENTS.

BOOK VII.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1606—1660.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

	Page
Charles I.—<i>Continued</i>	5
The Commonwealth	185
The History of Religion	227

CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VII.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1606—1660.

CHARLES I.—*Continued.*

THE thirteen bishops impeached for their share in the obnoxious canons and Laud's last convocation, had been admitted to bail, and, after a short time, to their seats in the House of Lords. Now twelve of them drew up a protest and petition to the king, stating, that they could not attend in their places in parliament, where they had a clear and indubitable right to vote, because they had several times been violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted by multitudes of people, and had lately been chased away from the House of Lords, and put in danger of their lives—for all which they could find no redress or protection, though they had lodged several complaints in both Houses. "Therefore," continued the document, "they (the bishops) do in all duty and humility protest before your majesty and the peers against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence have already passed; as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in the House of Lords, during the time of this their forced and violent absence, &c. To the surprise of most men, the first signature to this protest and petition was that of old Williams, who had been translated to the archbishopric of York a very

few days before. The other eleven bishops that signed were Durham, Lichfield, Norwich, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Hereford, Oxford, Ely, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Llandaff. If the Lords had acquiesced in the views of the petitioners, the Long Parliament might have been ended now, in so far at least as the Upper House was concerned, and the slur of illegality might have been cast upon all the acts that had been passed during the last year in the frequent absence of the lords spiritual. The move on the part of the court was a bold one; but the revolution was now in progress, and, without even offering to provide for the bishops' safety, so that they might come to their House, or be accused of staying away wilfully and voluntarily, the Lords desired a conference with the Commons, and denounced the petition and protest as highly criminal and subversive of the fundamental privileges and the very being of parliament. The Commons instantly re-echoed the charge, accused these twelve bishops of high treason, and sent Mr. Glynn to the bar of the Lords, to charge the prelates in the name of the House of Commons, and to desire that they might be forthwith sequestered from parliament and put into safe custody. "The lords sent the black rod instantly to find out these bishops and apprehend them; and by eight o'clock at night they were all taken, and brought upon their knees to the bar, and ten of them committed to the Tower; and two (in regard of their age, and indeed of the worthy parts of one of them, the learned Bishop of Durham) were committed to the black rod."* Thus ten more prelates were sent to join Laud in his captivity—twelve votes were lost to the court party in the House of Lords.

On the last day of this eventful year the Commons sent Mr. Denzil Hollis to the king, with what they called an *Address* to his majesty, praying for a guard, and an answer without delay. Hollis told the king, by word of mouth, that the House of Commons were ready to spend the last drop of their blood for his majesty, but

* Rushworth.

that they had great apprehensions and just fears of mischievous designs to ruin and destroy them; that there had been several attempts made heretofore to bring destruction upon their whole body at once, and threats and menaces used against particular persons; that there was a malignant party daily gathering strength and confidence, and now come to such a height as to imbrue their hands in blood in the face and at the very doors of the parliament; and that the same party at his majesty's own gates had given out insolent and menacing speeches against the parliament itself. And in the end Hollis informed him, that it was the humble desire of the Commons to have a guard to protect them out of the city, and commanded by the Earl of Essex, chamberlain of his majesty's household, and of equal fidelity to his majesty and the Commonwealth. Charles desired to have this message in writing; the paper was sent to him accordingly, and he replied to it, *not* without delay, as the Commons had requested, or enjoined, but three days after. In the interval the Commons had ordered that halberts should be provided and brought into the House for their own better security. The halberts were brought in accordingly, and Rushworth informs us that they stood in the House for a considerable time afterwards. Then, understanding that the Lords would not sit on the morrow, which was New Year's Day, they adjourned till Monday, the 3rd of January, resolving, however, that they should meet on the morrow, in a grand committee at Guildhall, leaving another committee at Westminster, to receive his majesty's answer to their petition, if it should come in the mean time.*

On the 3rd of January the Commons, meeting in their usual place, received the king's tardy and unsatisfactory answer to their petition for a guard. Charles expressed his great grief of heart at finding, after a whole year's sitting of this parliament, that there should be such jealousies, distrusts, and fears; he protested his ignorance of

* Rushworth. This establishing a committee in the city before the king's violent act of attempting to seize the five members has been generally overlooked.

the grounds of their apprehension, and he offered to appoint them a guard if they should continue to think one necessary. A guard of the king's appointing was precisely the thing that the Commons did not want. While they were debating upon the message they received a communication from the Lords, the effect of which was galvanic. That morning Herbert, the king's attorney, was admitted into the House of Lords at the request of the lord keeper, and, approaching the clerks' table (*not the bar*),* Herbert said that the king had commanded him to tell their lordships that divers great and treasonable designs and practices, against him and the state, had come to his majesty's knowledge. "For which," continued Herbert, "his majesty hath given me command, in his name, to accuse, and I do accuse, by delivering unto your lordships these articles in writing, which I received of his majesty, the six persons therein named of high treason, the heads of which treason are contained in the said articles, which I desire may be read." The Lords took the articles, and commanded the reading of them. They were entitled "Articles of high treason, and other high misdemeanours, against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode." The seventh, and the last and most significant article, affirmed "that they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied, war against the king." Lord Kimbolton, who was in his seat, stood up, and expressed his readiness to meet the charge, offering to obey whatever the House should order. None of the courtiers had courage to move his arrest as a traitor. The Lords wavered, stood still, and then appointed a committee, consisting of the lord-steward, and the Earls of Essex, Bath, Southampton, Warwick, Bristol, and Holland, to

* The attorney and solicitor general are legally considered to be attendants upon the House of Lords, and have, as well as the judges, their regular writs of summons issued out at the beginning of every parliament, *ad tractandum et consilium impendendum*, though not *ad consentiendum*, with their lordships.—*Blackstone*, Com. i. 168.

consider precedents and records touching the regularity of this accusation, and to discover whether such an accusation might be brought by the king's attorney into their house against a peer, &c. Thus they avoided committing themselves, gained time, and no doubt made sure that the Commons, whom they warned by message, would take the affair upon themselves.* And nearly at the same moment that their message was delivered in the Lower House, information was also carried thither that several officers were sealing up the doors, trunks, and papers of Hampden, Pym, and the other accused members. Upon which the Commons instantly voted, "That if any person whatsoever shall come to the lodgings of any member of this House, and offer to seal the trunks, doors, or papers of any of them, or seize upon their persons, such member shall require the aid of the constable to keep such persons in safe custody till this House do give further order; and that if any person whatsoever shall offer to arrest or detain the person of any member without first acquainting this House, it is lawful for such member, or any person, to assist him, and to stand upon his or their guard of defence, and to make a resistance, according to the protestation taken to defend the privileges of parliament."† They also ordered that the serjeant-at-arms attending their House should proceed and break open the seals set upon the doors, papers, &c. of Mr. Hampden and the rest; and that the Speaker should sign a warrant for the apprehension of those who had done the deed. The House then desired an immediate conference with the Lords; but before they could receive an answer, they were told that a serjeant-at-arms was at

* Rushworth.—Parl. Hist.—Clarendon says, "The House of Peers was somewhat appalled at this alarm, but took time to consider of it till the next day, that they might see how their masters, the Commons, would behave themselves; the Lord Kimbolton being present in the House, and making great professions of his innocence; and no lord being so hardy to press for his commitment on the behalf of the king."

† Whitelock.

their door, with a message to deliver from his majesty to their Speaker. Forthwith they called in the said serjeant to the bar, making him, however, leave his mace behind him. "I am commanded by the king's majesty, my master," said the serjeant, "upon my allegiance, to require of Mr. Speaker five gentlemen, members of the House of Commons; and those gentlemen being delivered, I am commanded to arrest them, in his majesty's name, of high treason: their names are Denzil Hollis, Arthur Hazlerig, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Strode." When he had delivered this message the House commanded him to withdraw, and sent Lord Falkland, and three other members, to acquaint his majesty that the matter was of great consequence, and that the House of Commons would take it into their serious consideration, holding the members ready to answer any legal charge made against them.

All this was on the 3rd of January. "The next day after that the king had answered the petition of the House (about the guard), being the 4th of January, 1642," says May, "he gave, unhappily, a just occasion for all men to think that their fears and jealousies were not causeless." He spent the preceding evening in making preparations. Arms were removed from the Tower to Whitehall, where a table was spread in the palace for a band of rash young men, who were ready to proceed to extremities for the re-establishment of royalty in its pristine state. Charles had determined to charge the five members with private meetings and treasonable correspondence with the Scots (a case met and provided for by the amnesty which had been procured both in Scotland and England), and with countenancing the late tumults from the City of London; and he now resolved to go in person to seize the five members of the House of Commons. On the morning of the 4th the five accused members attended in their places, as they had been ordered. Lord Falkland stated, that he was desired to inform the House that the serjeant-at-arms had done nothing the preceding day but what he had it in command to do. Then Hampden rose, and powerfully re-

pelled the vague accusations which had been brought against them by the king. If to be resolute in the defence of parliament, the liberties of the subject, the reformed religion, was to be a traitor, then he acknowledged he might be guilty of treason, but not otherwise. Hazlerig followed Hampden. The House being informed that it was Sir William Fleming and Sir William Killigrew, with others, who had sealed up the studies and papers of the five members, ordered that they should be forthwith apprehended, and kept in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms till further notice. They also voted that a conference should be desired with the Lords, to acquaint them of a *scandalous paper*, published with articles of high treason, against their five members, and the Lord Kimbolton, a peer. The House rose at the usual dinner-hour, but met again immediately after. They had scarcely taken their seats when intelligence was brought by Captain Langrish, who had passed the party in the streets, that the king was advancing towards Westminster Hall, guarded by his gentlemen-pensioners, and followed by some hundreds of courtiers, officers, and soldiers of fortune, most of them armed with swords and pistols. The House was bound by its recent and solemn protestation to protect its privileges and the persons of its members: there were halberts, and probably other arms at hand; but could they defend their members against this array, led on by the king in person? Would it be wise, on any grounds, to make the sacred inclosures of parliament a scene of war and bloodshed? They ordered the five members to withdraw; "to the end," says Rushworth, "to avoid combustion in the House, if the said soldiers should use violence to pull any of them out." Four of the members yielded ready obedience to this prudent order, but Mr. Strode insisted upon staying and facing the king, and was obstinate till his old friend Sir Walter Earle pulled him out by force, the king being at that time entering into New Palace Yard, and almost at the door of the House. As Charles passed through Westminster Hall to the entrance of the House of Commons, the officers, reformados, &c., that attended him

made a lane on both sides the Hall, reaching to the door of the Commons. He knocked hastily, and the door was opened to him. Leaving his armed band at the door and in the Hall, he entered the House, with his nephew Charles, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, at his side. He glanced his eyes towards the place where Pym usually sat, and then walked directly to the chair, saying, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little." Lenthall, the Speaker, dropped upon his knee, and Charles took his seat; the mace was removed; the whole House stood up uncovered. Charles cast searching glances among them, but he could nowhere see any of the five members. He then sat down and addressed them with much agitation:—"Gentlemen," said he, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you: yesterday I sent a serjeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that upon my commandment were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message; and I must declare unto you here, that, albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the utmost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege, and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that I have accused, for no slight crime, but for treason, are here. I cannot expect that this House can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it, therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them." Then he again looked round the House, and said to the Speaker, now standing below the chair, "Are any of those persons in the House? Do you see any of them? Where are they?" Lenthall fell on his knees, and told his majesty, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the House was pleased to direct him. Then again casting his eyes round about the House, Charles said, "Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you do send them to me, as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against

them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly;—that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them.” With these words the disappointed king rose and retired amidst loud cries of “Privilege! Privilege!”—and the House instantly adjourned.*

That night the city was a gayer place than the court. Early on the following morning the Commons, safe in “that mighty heart,” sent Mr. Fiennes with a message to the Lords, to give them notice of “the king’s coming yesterday,” and to repeat their desires that their lordships would join with them in a petition for a guard to secure them, and also to let them know that they were sitting at Guildhall, and had appointed the committee for the pressing Irish affairs to meet there. The Commons then appointed that a permanent committee should sit at Guildhall, in the city of London, with power to consider and resolve of all things that might concern the good and safety of the city; and thereupon adjourned till Tuesday, the 11th of January, at one in the afternoon. In the mean time Charles had sent orders to stop the sea-ports, as if the five members could be scared into a flight. On the morning, after a night of painful doubt and debate, Charles set off to the city in person, with his usual attendants, but without any reformados or bravos. On his way he was saluted with cries of “Privileges of parliament! Privileges of parliament!” and one Henry Walker, an ironmonger and pamphlet-writer, threw into his majesty’s coach a paper whereon was written “To your tents, O Israel.”† The common council had assembled at Guildhall, and they met the king as he went

* Rushworth.—Whitelock.

† Rushworth.—The pamphleteer was committed, and afterwards proceeded against at the sessions.

up to that building almost alone. Concealing his ill-humour, and his irritation against the citizens, he thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I am come to demand such persons as I have already accused of high treason, and do believe are shrouded in the city. I hope no good man will keep them from me; their offences are treasons and misdemeanors of a high nature. I desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial. And whereas there are divers suspicions raised that I am a favourer of the popish religion, I do profess, in the name of a king, that I did, and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall any ways oppose the laws and statutes of this kingdom, either Papists or Separatists; and not only so, but I will maintain and defend that true Protestant religion which my father did profess, and I will continue it during my life."* This conciliatory speech produced little or no effect; Charles did not get the five members, but he got a very good dinner at the house of one of the sheriffs, and after dinner returned to Whitehall without interruption or tumult.

The Lords, on receiving the Commons' message, had also adjourned to the 11th of January. The permanent committee, which sat sometimes at Guildhall, sometimes at Grocers' Hall, proceeded actively in drawing up a declaration touching his majesty's intrusive visit to their House; and this occupied them till the 9th of January, many witnesses being examined to prove the words, actions, and gestures of that array of men who had followed his majesty and stood near the door of the House of Commons. Papers and records were also sent for. It was reported to them, that on the 4th of January the lieutenant of the Tower had permitted one hundred stand of arms, two barrels of powder, and match and shot proportionate, to go out of the Tower to Whitehall; and the committee, upon examination, found this report to be true. The common council, who went hand in hand with the committee, drew up a petition to the king, representing the

* Rushworth.

great dangers, fears, and distractions of the city, by reason of the prevailing progress of the bloody rebels in Ireland; the dangerous putting out of persons of honour and trust from being constable and lieutenant of the Tower; the fortifying of Whitehall; the wounding of unarmed citizens in Westminster Hall; the strange visit paid to the House of Commons by his majesty, etc., and in the end, the petitioners prayed his sacred majesty to give up his intention of arresting the Lord Kimbolton and the five members, and not to proceed against them otherwise than according to the privileges of parliament. Charles, in his answer to this petition, justified his late proceedings. At the same time he published a proclamation, charging the Lord Kimbolton and the five members with high treason, and commanding the magistrates to apprehend them, and carry them to the Tower. Forthwith many mariners and seamen went to the committee with a petition signed by a thousand hands, tendering their services, and offering to escort the committee by water to Westminster on the appointed day. The committee accepted their offer, and ordered them to provide such artillery as was necessary, and to take care that all great guns and muskets in their vessels should be cleared beforehand, *to the end that there might be no shooting that day, except in case of great necessity.* When the sailors were gone, the London apprentices flocked in great numbers to the committee, and offered their services as guards for the journey from the city back to Westminster. Serjeant Wild gave the apprentices thanks for their affection and willingness to serve the parliament, but told them that they were already provided with a sufficient guard. On the Monday following the committee declared that the proclamation of treason was a great scandal to his majesty and his government,—a seditious act, manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace of the kingdom, and to the injury and dishonour of the accused members, against whom there was no legal charge or accusation whatever.*

On the afternoon of the same day Charles, with the

* Rushworth.

queen, his children, and the whole court, left Whitehall and went to Hampton Court. He never entered London again until he came as a helpless prisoner, whose destinies were in the iron hand of Oliver Cromwell. On the morrow afternoon the committee, together with the Lord Kimbolton and the five accused members, took water at the Three Cranes, attended by thirty or forty long boats, with guns and flags, and by a vast number of citizens and seamen in other boats and barges; and thus they proceeded triumphantly to their old port at Westminster, some of the train-bands marching at the same time by land, to be a guard to the two Houses of Parliament. The next day they received a very humble message from Hampton Court: "His majesty, taking notice that some conceive it disputable whether his proceedings against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode, be legal and agreeable to the privileges of parliament, and being very desirous to give satisfaction to all men in all matters that may seem to have relation to privilege, is pleased to waive his former proceedings; and all doubts by this means being settled, when the minds of men are composed, his majesty will proceed thereupon in an unquestionable way, and assures his parliament that upon all occasions he will be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown." On the same day, "divers knights, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Bucks, to the number of about four thousand, as they were computed, came to London, riding every one with a printed copy of the protestation lately taken in his hat."* These countrymen of Hampden presented a petition, not to the House of Commons, but to the House of Peers, praying them to co-operate with the Lower House in perfecting the great work of reformation. At the same time, these Buckinghamshire petitioners, who received the thanks of both Houses, acquainted the Commons that they had another petition which they wished to present to his majesty on behalf of their loyal

* Rushworth.

countryman, neighbour and member, Mr. John Hampden, in whom they had ever found good cause to confide. They asked the Commons which would be the best way of delivering this petition; and the Commons selected six or eight of their members to wait upon his majesty with it. These members accordingly went to Hampton Court; but Charles was not there, having gone on to Windsor Castle. The members followed him to Windsor, and presented the paper, which told him that the malice which Hampden's zeal for his majesty's service and the service of the state had excited in the enemies of king, church, and commonwealth, had occasioned this foul accusation of their friend. Charles instantly repeated his determination of waiving the accusation. And yet this was not done very clearly or very graciously.

On the 12th of January, the day after Charles's departure from Whitehall, information was brought to the House of Commons, that the Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford, with other disbanded officers and reformados, were gathering some troops of horse at Kingston-upon-Thames. The alarm was the greater, because the magazine of arms for that part of Surrey was at Kingston. The Lords and Commons ordered the sheriffs and justices of peace to suppress the gathering with the train-bands, and secure the magazine. The like orders were soon sent into every part of the kingdom: and nearly everywhere they were readily obeyed. Lord Digby escaped and fled beyond sea; Colonel Lunsford was taken and safely lodged in the Tower. On the same day (the 12th of January) the lord steward reported to the Lords that his majesty would command the lord mayor to appoint two hundred men out of the train-bands of the city to wait on the two Houses, under the command of the Earl of Lindsay. The House of Commons, without regarding this message, called up two companies of the train-bands of the city and suburbs, and placed them under the command of Serjeant-Major Skippon. They also ordered, in conjunction with the Lords, that the Earl of Newport, Master of the Ordnance, and the Lieutenant of the Tower should not suffer any arms or am-

munition to be removed without their express orders; and that, for the better safeguard of the Tower, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex should appoint a sufficient guard to watch that fortress both by land and water. Their minds, indeed, were now almost wholly occupied by the thoughts of arsenals, arms, and ammunition. A committee was appointed to attend especially to the best means of putting the kingdom in a posture of defence. The members of this committee were Mr. Pierpoint, Sir Richard Carr, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Glynn, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Henry Vane, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Solicitor-General St. John.

It was now apparent to most men that the kingdom was about to blaze with the long-conceived flame of civil war.* The Scottish commissioners, raised into vast importance by their skilful management of affairs, chose this moment to offer their mediation between the king and his English parliament. On the 19th of January, Charles, in a letter from Windsor, let the Scottish commissioners know that he had expected, before they should have intermeddled, that they would have acquainted him with their resolution in private; and that he trusted that, for the time coming, they would no way engage themselves in these *private differences*, without first communicating their intentions to him in private. He also wrote to the Earl of Lanark, now Secretary for Scotland, to whom he bitterly complained of the course pursued by the commissioners in meddling and offering to mediate betwixt him and his English parliament. The House of Commons, of course, received the offer of mediation in a very different manner. On the day after it was presented they ordered Sir Philip Stapleton to return thanks to the Scottish commissioners, assuring them that what they had done was very acceptable to the House, who would continue their care to remove the present distractions, as also to confirm and preserve the union between the two nations. A few days after this the commissioners concluded an arrangement for the sending of 2500

* Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs.

men of the Scotch army into Ireland, to make head against the rebellion, which now threatened the entire loss of that country.

The Lords joined the Commons in petitioning the king to proceed with the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five members. Charles again offered a free pardon. With this the two Houses would not rest satisfied ; and they both demanded justice against the informers on whose testimony his majesty had acted. On the 20th of January the king, by message, desired the parliament to digest and condense into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, promising his favourable assent to those means which should be found most effectual for redress ; but the Commons scarcely heeded this message, knowing at the moment that Charles had already sent Lord Digby abroad in search of foreign assistance. Charles's conduct with regard to the Irish rebels also excited their discontent and vehement suspicions.

The Irish insurgent, or rebels, had styled themselves the queen's army, and professed that the cause of their rising was to maintain the king's prerogative and the queen's religion against the puritan parliament of England. There was also observed, on the part of Charles, a backwardness to send over assistance to the Protestant party in Ireland, who were as much Puritans as his English subjects, and a forwardness to expedite men who were notorious for their attachment to the old Roman church. Great numbers of Papists, both English and Irish, some of whom had served the king in his unlucky campaigns against the Scottish Covenanters, went out of England immediately before or shortly after the insurrection, and joined their co-religionists in arms ; others remaining in England prepared, or were said to be preparing, arms, ammunition, money, corn, and other victual for the assistance and encouragement of the Irish. On the 29th of January the Lords and Commons issued strict orders to the sheriffs, justices of peace, &c., to stay and prevent these perilous enterprises. The Commons had found it necessary to apply to the city for a loan of 100,000*l.* for the service in Ireland ; and the petitions

poured in from the city of London, from the counties of Essex and Hertfordshire, and from the knights, gentlemen, ministers, and others of various other counties. These papers were full of a boiling patriotism and fiery fanaticism: they deplored the destruction of the properties, lives, and religion of Englishmen in Ireland; and they proposed, as the proper means of ending rebellion, cruelty, and massacre in Ireland, the execution, in England, of all catholic priests, Jesuits, &c., *legally* condemned: and they further denounced the ill-affected persons about court, and the bishops and popish lords in the House of Peers who were hindering, by their votes, the effectual and speedy cure of all our state evils.

Upon these remarkable petitions the Commons desired a conference with the Lords, and appointed Pym to manage it. The Lower House had been for some time apprehensive of a falling-off on the part of the Upper House. Pym now flatly told their lordships that they must either join the Commons in the cure of this epidemical disease, whereof the commonwealth lay gasping, or be content to see the Commons do without them. The House of Commons forthwith ordered that the Speaker, in the name of all, should give thanks to Mr. Pym for his able performance of the service in which he had been employed; and they further desired that Mr. Pym would deliver in writing to the House the bold speech he had made at this conference, in order that it might be printed.*

From this day the gauntlet was thrown down to the Peers, the overthrow of the Upper House became a familiar idea with a great part of the nation, and the movement of reform was changed into the march of revolution.

A few days after Lord Digby's escape, a packet, addressed by his lordship to his brother-in-law, Sir Lewis Dives, was intercepted and read in the House of Commons.† A letter for the queen inclosed in the packet

* Rushworth.

† According to Clarendon, Digby's letter was brought to the House of Commons by the treachery of the person to

was opened and read with just as little ceremony. In the letter Digby said, "If the king betake himself to a safe place, where he may avow and protect his servants (from rage I mean, and violence, for from justice I will never implore it), I shall then live in impatience and misery till I wait upon you. But if, after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my absence than by all my industry." At the very opening of this letter was an offer to correspond with the queen in ciphers, and to do service abroad, for which the king's instructions were desired. The Commons were naturally thrown into a great heat by the strain in which their proceedings were now spoken of by one who, like Strafford, had formerly been among the most zealous asserters of popular rights. They appointed a committee to consider the intercepted letters, and, with little loss of time, both Houses joined in a strong representation to his most gracious majesty. At the end of this paper the Lords and Commons said—"We most earnestly beseech your majesty to persuade the queen that she will not vouchsafe any countenance to or correspondence with the Lord Digby, or any other the fugitives or traitors, whose offences now depend under the examination and judgment of parliament; which we assure ourselves will be very effectual to further the removal of all jealousies and discontents betwixt your majesty and your people, and the settling the great affairs of your majesty and the kingdom in an assured state and condition of honour, safety, and prosperity."

This was worse than gall and wormwood to the court. Nor did the parliament stop here; a committee of the Commons drew up a charge of high treason against Lord Digby. Henrietta Maria, who never was the heroine that some have delighted to picture her, who in no particular of her life showed any high-mindedness, was ter-

whose care it was intrusted for conveyance. We learn from Rushworth that, besides writing to Dives, Digby also wrote to Secretary Nicholas, who was now trusted with most of the secret plans of the court.

rified almost out of her senses by the notion that the Commons meant to impeach her; and self-preservation, and wounded pride, and an indefinite hope of doing great things against the parliament of England among the absolute princes on the continent, all prompted her to be gone. Both Houses intimated to her through the Earl of Newport and the Lord Seymour, that there was no ground for the fears they were aware she entertained of the intention of the Commons to accuse her of high treason. But there was now an excellent pretext for Henrietta Maria's departure. In the midst of this unhappy turmoil with his parliament, Charles had married his daughter Mary to the young Prince of Orange, and it seemed proper and expedient that the young lady should be conducted by her mother to her betrothed husband. The king readily entered into the scheme of this journey, but it was necessary to obtain the consent of parliament. He therefore acquainted both Houses with the matter; and, as neither of them raised any very strong opposition, the royal party got ready for the coast, Charles resolving to accompany them as far as Dover. The plate of the queen's chamber was melted down for the expenses of the journey, and the whole of the crown jewels were secretly packed up to be converted on the other side of the water into arms and gunpowder. On the 9th of February Charles, with his wife and children, came back from Windsor to Hampton Court; on the 10th he proceeded to Greenwich; on the morrow to Rochester, and so by slow stages to Dover, where the queen and princess embarked for Holland on the 23rd of February.*

While he was yet at Canterbury, and his wife with him, Charles's assent was demanded to two bills which the Commons had got carried through the Lords; the one was to take away the votes of the bishops in parliament, and to remove them and all others in holy orders from all temporal jurisdiction and offices whatsoever; the other for pressing of soldiers for the service of Ireland. Charles passed the two bills, and, in a message to both

* Rushworth.—May.—Clarendon.

Houses, said he felt assured that his so doing (the bill about the bishops he had formerly declared he would die rather than pass) would convince them that he desired nothing more than the satisfaction of his kingdom. But of the bishops, whose political existence was annihilated by the passing of the first of these two acts,—of Laud, who lay in the Tower uncertain of his fate,—Charles breathed not a syllable. And, from his promptness in passing the Bill, and his un murmuring silence upon it, all thinking men concluded that he was acting with mental reservation, and with the determined purpose of declaring that bill and others null and void, and his consent as a painful but necessary sacrifice to the present violence and strength of the parliament, as soon as ever he should be in a condition to do so. The Lords and Commons, however, professed to acknowledge, with much joy and thankfulness, his majesty's grace and favour in giving his royal assent to these two bills. On the next day the House of Commons suggested new modes of raising money for the reduction of Ireland, grandly proposing to apply to that purpose a million of money—the first time, we believe, that so large a sum was ever mentioned in a parliamentary estimate. On the 17th of February they went into committee on a bill for the suppressing of innovations in the church, for the abolishing of superstitious and scandalous ministers, and all idolatrous practices, for the better observance of the Lord's day called Sunday, and for the settling of preaching and preachers.

But there was another bill which the Commons had at heart, and which Charles was resolute not to pass, wishing, however, it should seem, to get the queen safely out of the country before he should declare this resolution. The Commons felt that they could never be safe until they had the whole power of the sword in their own hands. It was undeniably Charles's attempt to seize the five members, which induced them to insist peremptorily upon vesting the command of the Militia in officers of their own choice and nomination. There had been a strong tendency this way before: for example, on the 5th of May, 1641, upon the discovery of Percy's and

Jermyn's conspiracy to ride over the parliament with the army of the north, an order was made that the members of each county, &c., should meet to consider in what state the places for which they served were in respect of arms and ammunition, and whether the deputy-lieutenants and lord-lieutenants were persons well affected to religion and the public peace, &c.* On the 7th of December, 1641, when the storm was thickening and the whole atmosphere overcast by the horrors from Ireland, Hazlerig brought in a bill for appointing certain persons, whose names were left in blank, to the offices of lords-general of all the forces within England and Wales, and lord-admiral of England. The bill, however, was laid aside, and a new plan devised, it being ordered, on the 31st of December, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee on Monday next, to take into consideration the Militia of the kingdom. That Monday—that black Monday—was the day on which Charles sent his first message by the attorney-general Herbert about Lord Kimbolton and the five members. On January the 13th, of the present year, 1642, the second day after the triumphant return of the Commons from the city, a declaration, as we have mentioned, was passed for providing for the defence of the kingdom, by which all officers, magistrates, &c., were enjoined to take care that no soldiers should be raised, nor any castles or arms given up without his majesty's pleasure *signified to both Houses of parliament*. The Lords at first refused to concur in this declaration;† but, when the danger thickened, their

* Commons' Journals.

† Thirty-two peers declared that the demand of the Commons was reasonable and necessary, and protested against the vote by which their lordships rejected the declaration about the Militia. These protesting peers were Essex, Warwick, Pembroke, Holland, Stamford, Bedford, Leicester, Clare, Lincoln, Sarum, Bolingbroke, Peterborough, Thanet, Nottingham, Saye and Sele, Conway, Paget, Kimbolton, Brooke, Roberts, North, Wharton, St. John, Spencer, Newnham, Willoughby, Bruce, Dacres, Howard de Escrick, Grey de Werk, Chandos, Hunsdon.

lordships changed their minds, and only a few days after their refusal (on February the 16th) they resolved to go along with the other House. This ordinance concerning the Militia, however, had not even been carried through the Lower House without opposition; for while the majority maintained that the power of the Militia was not in the king but solely in the parliament, the minority insisted that the power of the Militia was solely in the king, that it ought to be left to him, and that the parliament never did or ought to meddle with it. Whitelock gave it as his humble opinion that the power of the Militia was neither in the king alone nor in the parliament alone; but if anywhere in the eye of the law, it was in the king and parliament both consenting together. In fact, the entire business was now in such a state that the appeal to the sword was inevitable, and, constitutionally or unconstitutionally, parliament determined not to resign the command of troops who might be on the very morrow employed against them. They therefore resolved to place the command of the sword in the hands of those whom they could both trust and control, and they nominated in their bill the lords-lieutenants of all the counties, who were to obey the orders of the two Houses of Parliament, and to be irremovable by the king for two years. This was an open death-blow to the prerogative, but it is difficult to conceive by what other fence the members of that parliament could have secured their existence, or guaranteed for a week the many great and many good things they had obtained for the nation.*

The Militia Bill was tendered to Charles on the 19th or 20th of February: he was then on the Kentish coast, and the queen had not yet got off. On the 21st the Lord Stamford reported to the House of Peers the king's answer to their petition respecting the ordering of the Militia of the kingdom, which was, that this being a business of the highest importance, not only for the kingdom

* Clarendon himself says, that Charles's violent proceedings in the case of the five members made the House feel that they had no security except in this Militia Bill.—*Hist.*

in general, but also for his majesty's regal authority, he thought it most necessary to take some time to advise thereupon, and that therefore he could not promise a positive answer until he should return, which he intended to do as soon as he should have put his dearest consort the queen, and his dear daughter the Princess Mary, on board. When this message was brought down to the Commons, though it fell far short of an absolute refusal (and that, we believe, solely because the queen was not safely off), it excited great discontent, and led to the immediate drawing up of another petition more energetic than its predecessor. The Lords joined in this petition, and it was ordered to be presented by the Earl of Portland and two members of the Lower House. Charles was now less courteous than before, for by the time this petition was presented, the queen was on ship-board.* On the day on which she sailed, the 23rd of February, he wrote an extraordinary letter to the Earl of Berkshire, who produced it in the House of Lords, where several other peers affirmed that they had received letters from the king to the same effect; whereupon the House went into committee to consider what ill counsels had been given to his majesty, &c. On the 25th Charles returned to Canterbury, and sent orders that the Prince of Wales should meet him at Greenwich. This order was instantly communicated to parliament, apparently by the Marquess of Hertford, the governor of the young prince. Both Houses joined in a message, representing that it was their humble desire that the prince might not be removed from Hampton Court. To this Charles answered, that the prince's going to meet him at Greenwich was no way contrary to his former intention,—that he was very sorry to hear of the indisposition of the marquess,—and that, as for the fears and jealousies

* His answer, usually called the king's final answer, was not received in parliament till the 28th of February. In it Charles referred at some length to his mad attempt to seize in person the five members, and laboured to excuse his conduct in that particular.

spoken of, he knew not what answer to give, not being able to imagine from what grounds they proceeded. In the meantime Hertford, who had got as suddenly well as he had fallen sick, had been at Greenwich, and, in defiance of parliament, had put the young prince into his father's hands. On Sunday the 27th of February, some of the lords were sent to Greenwich to endeavour to bring the prince back to London; but the king told them haughtily, that he would take charge of the prince himself, and carry him along with him wherever he went. Charles then moved from Greenwich to Theobalds, being now, as he conceived, ready for a longer journey. He was followed to Theobalds by an urgent petition of both Houses, entreating him to yield the point about the Militia, and telling him that if he did not they should be compelled, and were resolved, to take that matter into their own hands for the safety of the kingdom. They moreover besought him to return to his capital and parliament, and not to remove the young prince to a distance from them. This was plain speaking. Charles also thought that the time was now come for him to adopt the same kind of language. He said hastily, "I am so much amazed at this message that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears: lay your hands to your hearts and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies; and, if so, I assure you this message hath nothing lessened them. For the Militia, I thought so much of it before I sent that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it might be so safe and honourable that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall; ask yourselves whether I have not. For my son, I shall take that care of him which shall justify me to God as a father, and to my dominions as a king. To conclude: I assure you, upon my honour, that I have no thought but of peace and justice to my people, which I shall, by all fair means, seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodness and

providence of God for the preservation of myself and rights.”* As soon as this answer from Theobalds was made known in the House, the Commons resolved that the kingdom should be forthwith put into a posture of defence by authority of parliament alone; and that a committee should be appointed to prepare a declaration laying down the just causes of their fears and jealousies, to clear their House from any jealousies conceived of it, and to consider and declare their opinion as to all matters that might arise out of this crisis. Then the Commons demanded a conference with the Lords, and invited them to join in these their resolutions. The first resolution about putting the kingdom on its defence was carried in the Upper House, but not till after a serious debate, nor without some protests; the second resolution was adopted unanimously. Instantly an order was issued by the two Houses for fitting out the entire fleet, and for putting it under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral of England, who was instructed to see all the royal ships rigged and put in readiness, and to make known to all merchants, masters, and owners of trading-vessels, that it would be an acceptable service to the king and parliament if they likewise would cause all their ships to be rigged and equipped, so that they might put to sea at the shortest notice. Both Lords and Commons then adjourned for two days to give time for their joint committee to meet at Merchant Tailors’ Hall, and there prepare other matters. On the 5th of March the former Militia Ordinance was read again in the Lords; but this time the king’s name and authority were wholly left out, and the blanks for the names of the lords-lieutenants were all filled up by noblemen and gentlemen who had been recommended by the Commons. Many of these lieutenants of counties who were to have the command of the Militia were royalists,—nearly all were men of the highest rank and attached to monarchy; but then there were many hated names in the list, and Charles was convinced, and probably upon good grounds, that,

* Rushworth.

in the case of a civil war, the majority of them would lean rather to the parliament than to him. He seems to have felt that the array of the aristocracy would have been against him in any attempt to restore the old despotism. To strengthen the ordinance, the Commons sent up to the other House the following resolutions:—That the commissions recently granted under the great seal for lieutenancies for counties were illegal and void; that such commissions should be all called in and cancelled; and that whosoever should attempt to execute any such power without consent of parliament should be accounted a disturber of the peace of the kingdom;—and these resolutions were adopted by the Lords with a feeble murmur of dissent from three voices. After this the Commons sent up their famous Declaration, setting forth the causes of their fears and jealousies, linking the king and the court with the Irish rebellion and massacre, asserting all along there had been a plan for the altering of religion and breaking the neck of parliament,—that the kings of France and Spain had been solicited by the pope's nuncio to lend his majesty 8000 men, to help to maintain his royalty against the parliament; and, in the end, inviting his majesty to return to Whitehall, and bring the prince with him, as one of the best ways of removing their apprehension. The Lords, after some debate, resolved that they agreed with the House of Commons in this declaration. But fourteen peers entered their names as dissenting from this vote.

The king had removed from Theobald's to Royston on the 3rd of March, and on the 7th, he proceeded from Royston to Newmarket, many persons joining him on the road. On the 9th his "revolted courtiers," the Earls of Pembroke and Holland, were after him, and presented at Newcastle this unreserved declaration of the parliament. Holland, it appears, the man who had formerly been the queen's favourite, read the provoking paper. When he came to the passages which related to the royal warrants granted to the two fugitives from parliament, the Lord Digby and Mr. Jermyn, Charles interrupted him by crying, "That is false!" and when

Holland went on and touched again upon the same subject, his majesty exclaimed "'T is a lie!" He said that it was a high thing to tax a king with breach of promise; that, for this declaration, he could not have believed the parliament would have sent him such a paper if he had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. "I am sorry for the parliament," continued he, "but am glad I have it (the declaration), for by that I doubt not to satisfy my people. Ye speak of ill counsels, but I am confident the parliament hath had worse information than I have had counsels." He then asked them what he had denied the parliament. The Earl of Holland instanced the militia. "That was no bill," cried the king. "But it is a necessary request at this time," said Holland. "But I have not denied it yet," retorted Charles. On the following day the king delivered his deliberate answer to the declaration. Holland read it, and then endeavoured to persuade his majesty to return to his capital. "I would," said Charles, "you had given me cause; but I am sure this declaration is not the way to lead me to it. In all Aristotle's rhetoric there is no such argument of persuasion as this." Then the Earl of Pembroke told him that the parliament had humbly besought his majesty to come near them. "I have learnt by their declaration," said Charles, "that these words are not enough." Pembroke then entreated him clearly to express what he would have. "I would whip a boy in Westminster School," said Charles, "who could not tell that by my answer." The king was coarsely oracular, and inclined to play at cross purposes—that wretched game which had brought him to his present straits. Presently he told the messengers of parliament that they were much mistaken if they thought his answer a denial. "Then," said Pembroke, "may not the militia be granted as desired by the parliament *for a time*?" "No, by God!" exclaimed Charles, "not for an hour. You have asked that of me that was never asked of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." * Charles

* Rushworth.

then turned to Ireland, saying, "The business of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in. Four hundred will never do that work; it must be put into the hands of *one*. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work; and though I am a beggar myself, by God I can find money for that." "In the mean time," he continued, "I must tell you that I rather expected a vindication for the imputation laid on me in Master Pym's speech, than that any more general rumours and discourses should get credit with you. For my fears and doubts, I did not think they should have been so groundless or trivial, while so many seditious pamphlets and sermons are looked upon, and so great tumults are remembered, unpunished, uninquired into: I still confess my fears, and call God to witness, that they are greater for the true Protestant profession, my people, and laws, than for my own rights or safety; though I must tell you I conceive that none of these are free from danger. What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a pardon as yourselves can desire. All this considered, there is a judgment from heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright, for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation." These were solemn asseverations: nevertheless, at that very moment, the queen was selling and pawning the crown jewels of England in order to purchase arms and ammunition, and to bring in a foreign army upon the English people. There was truth in the assertion that he had passed many bills for the ease and security of his subjects,—that he had made great and valuable concessions; but then, unfortunately for him, it was equally true—as it was equally well known—that

he had yielded later than at the eleventh hour, and only in the face of a power rising paramount to his own,—that, as long as he could, he had proudly and scornfully resisted the slightest concession. Could such a prince get credit for a sudden conversion? The thing was scarcely to be expected, even had there been no circumstances to provoke suspicion; and there were a thousand such circumstances. Every wind that blew from the continent brought reports of foreign alliances and projected invasions.

At the same time Charles edged away to the north-east, towards the very coast which had been mentioned as the spot selected for the landing of the invading army. On the 14th of March he went from Newmarket to Huntingdon, whence he dated an elaborate message to the two Houses, and then proceeded to Stamford. In this message he announced to them that he intended fixing his residence for some time in the city of York. He again exculpated himself at the expense of parliament; forbade them to presume upon any pretence to settle the militia, and protested that all their acts to which he was no party would and must be illegal and void. Thereupon it was voted by both Houses—
“1. That the king’s absence so far remote from his parliament is not only an obstruction, but may be a destruction to the affairs of Ireland. 2. That, when the Lords, and Commons in Parliament shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament. 3. That they which advised the king to absent himself from the parliament are enemies to the peace of this kingdom, and justly to be suspected as favourers of the rebellion in Ireland.” On the same day (the 16th of March), the Commons voted that the kingdom had been of late, and still was, in imminent danger, both from enemies abroad and from faction at home; that, in this case of extreme danger, seeing his majesty’s refusal, the ordinance agreed upon by both Houses for the militia ought to be obeyed according to the fundamen-

tal laws of the kingdom; and that such persons as should be nominated to take the command should execute their office by the joint authority of the two Houses. The Lords agreed; and the lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of counties began to organise the militia. On the 18th of March Charles was at Doncaster; on the 19th at York, where he began to organise a separate government. On the 26th the Lord Willoughby, Lord Dungarvon, and Sir Anthony Ereby arrived at York to present to him the parliament's justification of their late declaration. This document accused him of being the cause of all the troubles by resisting the militia bill; told him that his fears and doubts were unfounded; besought him to remember that the government of the kingdom before the beginning of the present parliament consisted of many continued and multiplying acts of violation of the laws; "the wounds whereof were scarcely healed, when the extremity of all those violations was far exceeded by the strange and unheard-of breach of law, in the accusation of the Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons' House," for which they had as yet received no full satisfaction. With much thankfulness, they acknowledged that his majesty had passed many good bills, full of contentment and advantage to his people; but truth and necessity enforced them to add, "*that ever in or about the time of passing those bills, some design or other had been on foot, which, if successful, would not only have deprived them of the fruit of those bills, but would have reduced them to a worse condition than that in which this present parliament had found the nation.*" They threw back his offer of a pardon with cold disdain, telling him that it could be no security to their fears and jealousies, which arose, not from any guilt of their own, but from the evil designs and attempts of others. They ended by advising and beseeching his majesty to return to his capital and parliament with all convenient speed, where he should find dutiful affections and earnest endeavours to establish his throne upon the sure foundation of the peace and prosperity of all his kingdoms.

In his reply, Charles assumed a haughty and sarcastic tone, telling them that they need not expect his presence until they should both secure him concerning his just apprehensions of tumultuary insolences, and give him satisfaction for those insupportable scandals that had been raised against him. He, however, again protested that he neither desired nor needed any foreign force to preserve him from oppression. The fact was, that he and his parliament were now scrambling for arms and warlike means, and, having entirely failed in getting possession of the Tower of London, Charles had his eyes fixed upon Hull, as a place, in present circumstances, more important than his capital. Nor was that city, with its magazines of arms, much less important in the eyes of parliament. Sir John Hotham was governor there, and the younger Hotham had undertaken in the House of Commons to carry down their orders. Nearly at the same moment the king hurried off the Earl of Newcastle, with most gracious letters in his majesty's name, full of clemency and fine promises to the townsmen of Hull, who were commanded to deliver instantly to the said earl the keys of the ports, magazines, block-houses, &c. Newcastle, whose heart misgave him, assumed the name of Sir John Savage, and tried to pass into the town unknown; but he was recognised by some by-standers, and presently forced to own both his name and his errand. The mayor, aldermen, and townsmen of Hull, foreseeing the coming tempest, and knowing that the parliament had resolved to leave the government of their town in the hands of Sir John Hotham, resolved upon a petition, to beseech his majesty to be pleased to agree with his parliament in this business, that so, without breach of fealty or incurring the displeasure of either king or parliament, they might know in whose hands they were to intrust that strength of the kingdom, and their own lives and property. The king took no notice of this petition; but the House of Lords instantly summoned the Earl of Newcastle to attend at his place in parliament. Charles, it appears, then requested the townsmen to keep Hull them-

selves, with their mayor as sole governor; and the earl and Captain Legg bestirred themselves among the people: but all was of no avail; the courtiers were driven out, and the younger Hotham was received in the town with three companies of train-bands. The authorities freely surrendered into his hands the magazines and block-houses, and shortly after Sir John Hotham arrived with more companies of the train-bands of Yorkshire. The garrison of Hull was thus raised to about eight hundred men. From the 19th of March to the 22nd of April, Charles resided at York: a court was formed around him; a crazy, tottering, timid ministry was put in action, and nights as well as days were spent in deep deliberation, and in the drawing up of declarations, protestations, and other state papers. On the 24th of March, the day on which the act granting him tonnage and poundage expired, Charles issued a proclamation, commanding the continuance of the payment of that tax or duty, and charging all his customers, comptrollers, collectors, searchers, waiters, &c., and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and others, his majesty's officers and ministers, to take care that the proclamation should be fully executed and the orders performed. Upon the very same day the Lords and Commons published an order, retaining to themselves the entire control of that source of revenue.

On the 8th of April Charles sent to acquaint the parliament with his resolution of going into Ireland for suppressing the rebellion there. He assured them, and all his loving subjects, that he would earnestly pursue the design for the defence of God's true religion, not declining any hazard of his person; and he called God to witness the sincerity of his professions, and the further assurance that he would never consent to a toleration of the popish profession in Ireland. He then lamely reintroduced the great subject of Hull, telling them that he intended forthwith to raise, by his own commissions, a guard for his person, which was to consist of 2000 foot and 200 horse all to be armed from his magazines at

Hull. He added that he had sent despatches into Scotland to quicken the levies there making for Ireland, and that he hoped the encouragement given to adventurers would facilitate the raising of men and money for that service. Charles was perfectly aware that the Commons would oppose with all their might his entrance into Hull. Days wore away, and he received no answer to this his last message. On the 22nd of April he sent the young Duke of York, his nephew the Prince Palatine, the Earl of Newport, the Lord Willoughby, and "some other persons of honour," but without any armed force, to see the town of Hull. These visitors were respectfully received and entertained by the mayor and the governor, Sir John Hotham. They spent that day in viewing the beauty and the strength of the place, and partaking of a banquet prepared by the mayor and aldermen of Hull. On the morrow, the 23rd of April, being St. George's Day, they were all invited to dine with the governor; but a little before dinner-time, Sir John Hotham being busy in discourse with their highnesses, was suddenly saluted by Sir Lewis Dives, the brother-in-law and correspondent of the fugitive Lord Digby. Sir Lewis delivered to Sir John a message from his majesty, purporting that his majesty also intended to dine with him that day, being then within four miles of Hull with an escort of 300 horse and upwards. Old Hotham was startled, but, perceiving what was intended, he hastened to consult with Mr. Pelham, a member of the House of Commons and alderman of Hull, and with some others who were equally pledged to the parliament side. These gentlemen presently decided (there was short time for deliberation) that a messenger should be sent to his majesty, humbly to beseech him to forbear to come, forasmuch as the governor could not, without betraying his trust, admit him with so great a guard. As soon as this messenger had returned, and had brought certain information of the king's advance, Hotham drew up the bridge, shut the gates, and commanded his soldiers to stand to their arms. This was scarcely done when Charles rode up to Beverley gate, called for Sir John Hotham, and com-

manded him to open the gate. To that frequently repeated command Sir John's only answer was, that he was intrusted by the parliament with the securing of the town for his majesty's honour and the kingdom's use,—that he intended, by God's help, to do this duty,—that his majesty ought not to misinterpret his conduct into disloyalty,—that, if his majesty would be pleased to come in with the Prince of Wales and twelve more, he should be welcome. The king refused to enter without his whole guard. The altercation began at eleven o'clock; at one o'clock the Duke of York, the Elector Palatine, and their attendants, were allowed to go out of the town to join the king. Charles stayed by the gate till four o'clock, when he retired, and gave Sir John Hotham one hour to consider what he did. At five o'clock Charles returned to the gate, where he received from the governor the same answer. Thereupon he caused two heralds-at-arms to proclaim Sir John Hotham a traitor; and then, disappointed, enraged, humiliated, he retreated to Beverley, where he lodged that unhappy night. The next morning he sent a herald and some others back to Hull to offer the governor a pardon and tempting conditions if he would yet open the gate. Hotham replied as he had done the day before; and Charles then rode away to York, whence he despatched another message to the parliament. On the next day (the 25th) he sent another message to parliament, and a very gracious letter to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Hull. Both were worse than useless. The Lords and Commons declared instantly that his stopping up the passages between Hull and the parliament, and intercepting of messengers employed by parliament,* was a high breach of their privileges; that the sheriffs and justices of the peace of the counties of York and Lincoln, and all other his majesty's officers should be called upon to suppress all forces that should be raised in those counties, either to force the town of Hull, or to stop passengers to and from

* Charles had laid scouts to intercept all letters passing between the parliament and Hull.—*Whitelock*.

it; that Sir John Hotham had done nothing but in obedience to the command of both Houses of parliament; that the declaring Sir John a traitor, he being a member of the House of Commons, was a high breach of the privileges of parliament, and, being without due process of law, was against the liberty of the subject and the law of the land. On the same day that these last resolutions were carried they drew up a petition against his majesty's going over to Ireland, telling him plainly that they could never consent to any levies or raising of soldiers to be made by his majesty alone for this his intended expedition, or to the payment of any army except such as should be employed and commanded according to the advice and direction of parliament. And all this was accompanied by an energetic declaration, in which they insisted that their precaution in securing Hull had been necessary to the safety of the country; and that it was the king and his adherents, and not Sir John Hotham, that had transgressed. This petition was delivered to his majesty by the Earl of Stamford. On the 4th of May Charles gave a long answer to the petition and to the declaration of the two Houses. He began by complaining that his message demanding justice for the high and unheard-of affront offered to him at the gates of Hull by Sir John Hotham had not been thought worthy of an answer, but that, instead thereof, parliament had thought it fit, by their printed votes, to own and avow that unparalleled act as being done in obedience to the command of both Houses of Parliament. He claimed an entire right of property in the towns, forts, and magazines of the kingdom. "And we would fain be answered," said he, "what title any subject of our kingdom hath to his house or land that we have not to our town of Hull? Or what right hath he to his money, plate, or jewels that we have not to our magazine or munition there? . . . We very well know the great and unlimited power of parliament, but we know as well that it is only in that sense as we are a part of that parliament. Without us, and against our consent, the votes of either or both Houses together must not, cannot, shall not, forbid anything that

is enjoined by the law, or enjoin anything that is forbidden by the law." He said that Lord Digby's intercepted letters, wherein mention was made of his retreat to a place of safety, ought not to hinder him from visiting his own town and fort; and, quitting this ticklish point with the fewest words possible, he protested with all solemnity that his heart bled at the apprehension of a civil war, and that, if any such should arise, the blood and destruction must be laid to the account of parliament, his own conscience telling him that he was clear. He reasserted the notorious falsehood, that he had offered to go into Hull with twenty horse only, his whole train being unarmed. As for Hotham, he said, "We had been contemptibly stupid if we had made any scruple to proclaim him traitor. . . . And that, in such a case, the declaring him traitor, being a member of the House of Commons, should be a breach of privilege of parliament, we must have other reasons than bare votes to prove." He had rather happily quoted before from Pym's speech on the trial of Strafford, and he ended his answer with another extract from the same "great driver:"—"We conclude with Mr. Pym's own words. If the prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned to tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy."

On the 26th of May the parliament sent him their remonstrance, or declaration, in answer to his declaration concerning the business of Hull. The royal declaration, which, like most of these papers, is supposed to be the composition of Hyde, was considered by the two Houses in the light of an appeal to the people, and a declining of further negotiation between the king and them. "Therefore," said they, "we likewise shall address our answer to the people, not by way of appeal, but to prevent them from being their own executioners, and from being persuaded, under false colours of defending the law and their liberties, to destroy both with their own hands, by taking their lives, liberties, and estates out of their hands whom they have chosen and intrusted therewith, and resigning them up to some evil counsellors

about his majesty, who can lay no foundation of their own greatness but upon the ruin of this, and in it of all parliaments, and in them of the true religion and the freedom of this nation." They announced, in the highest and most intelligible tone, their conceptions as to the king's right of property. Referring to Charles's assertion that he had the same property in the town of Hull, and in the magazines there, that any of his subjects had in their houses, lands, or money, they said, "Here that is laid down for a principle which would indeed pull up the very foundation of the liberty, property, and interest of every subject in particular, and of all the subjects in general; . . . for his majesty's towns are no more his own than the kingdom is his own; and his kingdom is no more his own than his people are his own: and, if the king had a property in all his towns, what would become of the subjects' property in their houses therein? And if he had a property in his kingdom, what would become of the subjects' property in their lands throughout the kingdom? or of their liberties, if his majesty had the same right in their persons that every subject hath in their lands or goods?" They went on to observe that the erroneous notion being infused into princes that their kingdoms were their own, and that they might do with them what they would,—“as if their kingdoms were for them, and not they for their kingdoms,”—was the root of all their invasions of their subjects' just rights and liberties; and that so far was the notion in question from being true, that in fact their kingdoms, their towns, the people, the public treasure, and whatsoever was bought therewith, were all only given to them in trust: by the known laws of England, the very jewels of the crown were not the king's property, but were only confided to his keeping for the use and ornament of his regal dignity. The remonstrance of the two Houses went on to affirm that they had given no occasion to his majesty to declare with so much earnestness that their votes would be nothing without or against his consent; that they were very tender of the law themselves, and so would never allow a few private persons about his majesty, nor his

majesty himself out of his courts, to be judge of the law, and that, too, contrary to the judgment of the highest court of judicature. They then returned to Lord Digby's intercepted letter. "We appeal," said they, "to the judgment of any indifferent man that shall read that letter, and compare it with the posture that his majesty then did and still doth stand in towards the parliament, and with the circumstances of that late action of his majesty in going to Hull, whether the advisers of that journey intended only a visit of that fort and magazine?" They told the king that it was a resolution most worthy of a prince to shut his ears against any that would incline him to a civil war; but they could not believe that spirit to have animated those that came with his majesty to the House of Commons; or those that accompanied him from Whitehall to Hampton Court, and appeared in a warlike manner at Kingston; or those that followed him to Hull; or those that, after that expedition, drew their swords at York, demanding who would be for the king; or those that advised his majesty to declare Sir John Hotham a traitor. And then they imitated Charles in casting the weight of blood from themselves, declaring that they stood acquitted by God and their consciences if those malignant spirits should ever force them to defend their religion, their country, the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the subject, with their swords. To this long paper Charles returned a still longer reply, and both were printed and published in the form of pamphlets. The two Houses again took up the controversial pen shortly afterwards; but their rejoinder was of such a length as to appear very tedious, even to the patient and long-winded Rushworth. Charles issued a proclamation stating that, for some months, his town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull had been withheld from him, and his entrance traitorously resisted, by Sir John Hotham, &c. But not hoping to gain so important a prize by a proclamation, the royalists had recourse to stratagem and bribes. But Hotham counter-plotted, and outwitted them, and the *ruse* entirely failed. The parliament voted thanks to Sir John Hotham for this good service. See-

ing that the king's troops were daily increasing at York, and that they were bent upon the capture of Hull, Hotham, for his own security, and to prevent any practices of bribery within the town, exacted from the inhabitants a solemn protestation or oath that they would faithfully maintain Hull for the king and parliament and kingdom's use. The greater part of the inhabitants took the protestation willingly, and those that refused it were expelled from the town. As the great aim of Charles was to get possession of the magazines, Hotham, by order of parliament, sent all the great ordnance and most of the arms and ammunition back to the Tower of London.

Charles now issued a proclamation, forbidding the muster of any troops or any militia without his commands and commission; but several days before this (on the 5th of May) the parliament had issued a declaration, in which, after condemning the king's refusal to give his assent to an amended bill for settling the militia, they stated that they should forthwith carry into effect their own ordinance respecting the militia, and required all persons in authority to put the said ordinance into execution. The lords-lieutenants being named for their several counties, nominated their deputy-lieutenants, subject to the approbation of parliament. Thus the Lord Paget being named in the ordinance for Buckinghamshire, he named Hampden, Goodwin, Grenville, Tyrrel, Winwood, and Whitelock as his deputy-lieutenants; and these gentlemen, being approved by the two Houses, entered upon the command of the Buckinghamshire militia.* St. John, Selden, Maynard, Glyn, Grimston, and many other members of the House of Commons, accepted the like commissions, and turned their attention from oratory and debate to drilling and tac-

* "The Lord Paget, not long after this, began to boggle and was unfixed in his resolutions: and upon the king's publishing of his commission of array, and declaration against the ordinance of parliament for the militia (his lordship's heart failing him, and being unsatisfied with his judgment), he revolted from the parliament and went to the king."—*Whitelock.*

tics. The king declared that there was now no legal power in the Houses to do what they had done, commanded all men to refuse obedience to the parliament's "pretended ordinance," and summoned a county meeting at York for the purpose of promoting the levy of troops for his own service. But there were more men attended this meeting than Charles had wished, and Sir Thomas Fairfax boldly laid upon the pommel of the king's saddle the warm remonstrance and petition of the lesser gentry and farmers and freeholders of Yorkshire, who asserted their right of being present, and desired the king to agree with his parliament. Even the aristocracy of the county were divided, and all that Charles obtained was one troop of horse, composed of gentlemen volunteers, who were nominally to be under the command of the boy Prince of Wales, and a foot regiment formed out of some of the train-bands. This paltry gathering at York was no sooner reported in parliament than the three following resolutions were hurled at the king and his throne: 1. That the king, seduced by wicked counsels, intended to make war on the parliament. 2. That whensoever the king made war upon the parliament, it was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the government. 3. That whosoever should assist him in such war were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom. After this the Houses published another remonstrance, exposing the king's misdeeds, and explaining their own privileges and intentions. Charles answered and they rejoined, and then they ordered that all sheriffs justices of the peaces, &c., within 150 miles of that city should stop all arms and ammunition going to York, and apprehend the conveyers, and also suppress all forces coming together by the king's commission. The ordinance of parliament was more effective than the proclamations and summonses of the king. In London alone a little army was raised. In the month of May the train-bands had a general muster in Finsbury Fields, where Major-general Skippon appeared as their commander, and where tents were pitched for the accommo-

dation of the members of both Houses. Eight thousand men were under arms. These were divided into six regiments, and officered by men hearty in the cause.

The king, it is said, had given offence to the English sailors by calling them "water-rats;" and whether the story be true or not, it seems certain that his government was unpopular with the navy. It will be remembered that the Houses had commissioned the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, to put the fleet into a warlike attitude. This nobleman, who enjoyed the confidence of neither party, was, or pretended to be, very sick. The Commons voted that he should be desired to appoint the Earl of Warwick to the command of the fleet, and requested the concurrence of the Lords. The Lords scrupled and hesitated, objecting that the appointment required the sanction of the king. But thereupon the Commons, without the consent of the Lords, and against the command of Charles, compelled Northumberland to depute his authority to Warwick, and actually put Warwick, who was acceptable to the sailors, into the command of the fleet. Charles revoked Northumberland's commission, and appointed Pennington to the command of the fleet; but the sailors would not receive this officer, and the parliament declared his appointment to be illegal. The king hoped to gain over the fleet, as he had hoped to gain possession of Hull, by a ruse;* but the event showed that he had widely miscalculated the temper of the English seamen. If we are to believe the royalist historian, the king had not at this time one barrel of powder, nor one musket, nor any other provision necessary for an army; and what was worse, he was not sure of any port at which warlike stores might be safely landed from the continent. "He expected with impatience the arrival of all those necessities by the care and activity of the queen, who was then in Holland, and, by the sale of her own, as well as of the crown jewels, and by the friendship of Henry prince of Orange, did all she could to provide all that was neces-

* Clarendon, Hist.

sary.”* The parliament, well aware of these preparations in Holland, decreed, that whosoever should lend or bring money into the kingdom raised upon the crown jewels should be held as an enemy to the state. Some weeks before this, when the act was passed for the speedy reducing of the rebels in Ireland, and the immediate securing the future peace and safety of England, many members of parliament voluntarily subscribed large sums of money, and their example was followed by other gentlemen and freeholders, who set on foot subscriptions in their several counties. The county of Buckingham, for example, advanced 6000*l*. Foremost in the list of the subscribing members in the Commons, we find the names of Sir Henry Martin for 1200*l*., Mr. Walter Long, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, and Sir John Harrison for the same sum each, Mr. Oliver Cromwell for 500*l*., John Pym for 600*l*., John Hampden for 1000*l*., Bulstrode Whitelock 600*l*., &c.

While the king was lying at York he was writing hard and working by other means to interest the Scots in his favour, and to get up a strong party among them. From the Scottish council he received a dutiful and affectionate answer, and he also got a petition from divers of the nobility and people there full of expressions of zeal and loyalty.† But the English parliament, hearing of these proceedings, “took a course to turn the balance,” and within eight days after, the Scottish council declared both to king and parliament their earnest desire to see them reconciled with one another; and they moreover humbly desired his majesty “to hearken to his greatest, his best, and most unparalleled council.” The Scottish ministers, indeed, were checked in any exuberance of loyalty by the stern spirit of the people, who still looked upon the king as the enemy to their kirk and their liberties, and upon the English House of Commons as their best friends. No sooner had the people of Edinburgh heard of the correspondence carrying on between Charles and the council, than they petitioned the latter not to

* Clarendon, Hist.

† Whitelock, Memorials.

take part, by any verbal or real engagement to the king, against the parliament of England. "These passages in Scotland" were of much advantage to the affairs of the English parliament, who still protested their fidelity to the king, at the same time that they courted the Scots with very kind expressions.*

Several members of both Houses—some who were in the service of the court, others who believed that the parliament was going too far or too fast—now withdrew to the king at York. For the present, the Commons satisfied themselves with passing an order that every member should be in his place by a certain day, or forfeit a hundred pounds to the Irish war. On his first arrival at York, Charles was attended by no other ostensible minister than Secretary Nicholas, a timid and wavering old man, who never knew half of his master's mind, or saw the full intention of any measure proposed by the king. Lord Falkland, Hyde, and Culpeper, who had abandoned the parliament, and pledged themselves to the court,† and who were in fact the chief directors of the royal councils (though they again scarcely knew more of Charles's mind than Nicholas), remained in London to watch the proceedings of the House of Commons, and to perform secret services of various kinds. About the end of April, Hyde received a letter from the king commanding him to repair to York as soon as he could be *spared from his business* in London. The historian says, that he communicated this letter to his

* Whitelock.

† They had all three been in very decided opposition to the court; they had all been actively concerned in the impeachment of Strafford, and they had all, it should appear, voted for his bill of attainder—certainly not one of the three had voted against it. Hyde, so much better known by his title of Lord Clarendon, had been eloquently fierce against the council of York; Lord Falkland, the idol of his party, had voted for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords. In fact, up to the end of the preceding year, Hyde, Falkland, and Culpeper, were all and each of them as enthusiastic on the side of the parliament as Hampden or as Pym.

two friends, Lord Falkland and Sir John Culpeper, who agreed with him that he should defer that journey for some time, there being every day great occasion of consulting together, and of sending despatches to the king*—which despatches, like nearly all the state papers, were written by Hyde, the great penman of the royalist party. “And,” adds Clarendon himself, “it was happy that he did stay; for there was an occasion then fell out, in which his presence was very useful *towards disposing the Lord Keeper Littleton to send the great seal to the king at York.*”† It appears that Charles wanted the great seal, but not the lord keeper—for Littleton had made himself very obnoxious to the court, by swimming with the strong stream of parliament. Besides other offences, he had recently voted in favour of the militia ordinance, and had learnedly insisted both on the expediency and on the legality of that measure. Clarendon, however, says, that he had always been convinced of Littleton’s loyalty, and he describes him as an honourable and noble person, who was only acting a double part. “Especially his majesty was assured by some whom he trusted, that the affection of the Lord Littleton was very entire to his service, and his compliance only artificial to preserve himself in a capacity of serving him, *which was true.*”‡ The copious and magniloquent historian goes on to say, that while Littleton was playing this part, he called upon him one evening, and spoke very freely with him. He told Littleton of the censure and hazard he incurred by his notable compliance and correspondence with “that party” which the king construed to be factious against his just regal power, and that some votes in which his lordship had concurred, and which were

* “And it was a wonderful expedition that was then used between York and London, when gentlemen undertook the service, as enough were willing to do; insomuch as when they despatched a letter on Saturday night, at that time of the year, about twelve at night, they always received the king’s answer, Monday, by ten of the clock in the morning.”—*Clarendon, Life.*

† *Life.*

‡ *Hist.*; Oxford edition of 1826.

generally understood to be contrary to law, in which his lordship's knowledge was unquestionable, were very notorious and much spoken of.* The lord keeper then told Hyde the straits he was in—"that the governing lords had a terrible apprehension of the king's sending for the great seal; and that nothing but his fair deportment towards them, and seeming to be of their mind, prevented their taking the seal into their own custody, allowing it only to be with him whilst he sat in the House and in the court; that they had made some order to that purpose, if, by his interest with them, he had not prevented it, well knowing that it would prove most fatal to the king, who, he foresaw, must be shortly compelled to wish the great seal with him for many reasons. "Now," said he, "let it be considered whether my voting with them in such particulars, which my not voting with them cannot prevent, be of equal prejudice to the king, with the seal's being put into such a condition that the king shall never be able to get it when it is most necessary for him, which undoubtedly will be the case when, by my carriage and opposition against them, the confidence towards me shall be lessened." The end of this long conversation was, that Littleton promised to serve the king, "in that article of moment," and even to go to him at York. Hyde and his compeers communicated the happy intelligence to their master, who thereupon despatched Mr. Eliot, a forward young man and a groom of the bedchamber, with a warrant to receive the great seal and a very kind letter to the lord keeper, requiring him to make all possible haste to York. Littleton gave up the great symbol to Eliot, who posted back to York with it; and then Littleton posted after the seal, and, though he was indisposed, and a much less active traveller than the groom of the chambers, he arrived at York the next day after that gentleman had delivered the seal to his majesty. This is Clarendon's account—or rather we should say *one* of Clarendon's *accounts*—and,

* Clarendon says, that he particularly mentioned to Littleton his late vote upon the militia.

according to this narrative, he contributed mainly to the great event, by his ingenious conversation with the lord keeper. But Eliot, the active groom of the chamber, told the king a very different story, affirming that he had found the lord keeper altogether averse to the measure, that he had locked the door upon him, and had got the great seal from him only by threatening to blow out his brains. The historian says that Mr. Eliot did this, and told many stories to magnify his own service, not imagining that the lord keeper intended to follow him to York. But may we not, on the other side, suspect that Clarendon magnified *his* service in this particular, as he obviously does in many other cases? May, an excellent authority, says, that the lord keeper had continued in all appearance firm to the parliament for some space of time after the rest were gone to York; "insomuch that there seemed no doubt at all made of his constancy; till, at the last, before the end of the month of June, a young gentleman, one Master Thomas Eliot, groom of the privy chamber to the king, was sent closely from York to him; who, being admitted by the lord keeper into his private chamber, when none else were by, so handled the matter, whether by persuasions, threats, or promises, or whatsoever, that, after three hours' time, he got the great seal into his hands, and rid post with it away to the king at York. The Lord Keeper Littleton, after serious consideration with himself what he had done, or rather suffered, and not being able to answer it to the parliament, the next day early in the morning rode after it himself, and went to the king. Great was the complaint at London against him for that action; nor did the king ever show him any great regard afterwards. The reason which the Lord Keeper Littleton gave for parting so with the great seal, to some friends of his who went after him to York, was this: that the king, when he made him lord keeper, gave him an oath in private, which he took—that, whensoever the king should send to him for the great seal, he should forthwith deliver it. This oath (as he averred to his friends) his conscience would by no means suffer him to dispense withal; he only repented

(though now too late) that he accepted the office upon those terms." Whitelock says simply, "The Lord Keeper Littleton, after his great adherence to the parliament, delivered the great seal to Mr. Eliot, whom the king sent to him for it; and shortly after Littleton followed the seal to the king, but was not much respected by him, or the courtiers." And all that is perfectly clear in this strange manœuvre, which, like most of Charles's measures, and all other manœuvres, is liable to a contrariety of doubts, is, that a groom of the chamber carried off the seal, and that the lord keeper stole out of London, and by bye-roads got to York, where he was regarded but coldly by his majesty. Clarendon says that the king was not satisfied with Littleton;* that his majesty would not for a long time redeliver the seal to him, but always kept it in his own bed-chamber, and that men remarked "a visible dejectedness" in the lord keeper. The historian tells us that all this gave him much trouble, as well it might, if his own story were the true one; and he takes to himself the credit of procuring better treatment for the keeper. It is quite certain, however, that Charles never placed any confidence in Littleton, that that adroit lawyer met with the usual fate of double dealers, was despised by both parties, lost all spirit and talent for business, and concluded his career about two years after at Oxford, in neglect, poverty, and mental wretchedness.

But it was now time for Clarendon himself to steal away to York. Shortly after Littleton's departure, the king told him that he would find him much to do there, and "*that he thought now there would be less reason every day for his being concealed.*"† Before Littleton's flight, Clarendon had arranged all matters for the journey, resolving with Lord Falkland to stay at a friend's house near Oxford, a little out of the road he meant to take for York, till he should hear of the keeper's motion; and to cover his absence from the House of Commons, he had told the Speaker that it was very necessary he should

* Hist.; edition of 1826.

† Life.

take the air of the country for his health. As soon as the keeper had flown, notice was taken in the House of the absence of his friend Hyde; inquiries were made what was become of him, and it was moved that he might be sent for. The House, however, who probably did not consider the historian of quite so much importance as he considered himself, neglected to take any steps for his apprehension for the present; and when (as he says) "they had resolved upon his arrest, he was warned thereof by Lord Falkland, and judging it time for him to be gone," he then left Ditchley, the house of the Lady Lee (afterwards Countess of Rochester), and travelled by unusual ways through Leicestershire and Derbyshire, until he came to Yorkshire. At first he fixed himself at Nostall, within twenty miles of the city of York, and there lay close and secret, corresponding daily or hourly with the king, and preparing answers in his name to the papers and manifestos of the parliament. It should appear, that even the courtiers and ministers at York were kept in ignorance as to his whereabouts; for he says, that, when, shortly after, he was summoned to York, the king received him very graciously, and asked some questions aloud of him, as if he thought he had then come from London. But it was thus that Charles dealt even with the instruments of his plans and intrigues, concealing from the rest what was done by one, and never imparting to the whole body the schemes in which all were to work blindly, or at least seeing nothing beyond their own fixed path. After this public reception and masking of circumstances, the king called Hyde aside into the garden, saying that they need not now be afraid of being seen together; and he walked with him in consultation for a full hour.*

Clarendon arrived in Yorkshire at the end of May; on the 2nd of June the ship "Providence," freighted by

* Life.—It seems quite certain that Clarendon's evasion was not considered so very important a matter by the parliament. Neither Whitelock nor May thought it of weight sufficient to merit any particular notice.

the queen in Holland, escaped the Earl of Warwick's cruisers, and ran ashore on the Yorkshire coast with sixteen pieces of artillery and great store of arms and ammunition, which had long been expected by the royal party, and the want of which had delayed the king's design of attempting Hull by a siege. The cannon, muskets, and gunpowder were all safely landed and carried to York. At this crisis the arrival of such a supply was of more consequence in the eyes of Charles than the coming of a great penman. The parliament, however, by this time began to be excited and convulsed by the great defection that was taking place, particularly among the lords. On the 30th of May they, by an order, summoned nine peers, the first that had gone away to York, to appear at Westminster. These nine peers utterly refused to quit the king, returning a slighting and scornful answer to the parliament. The Commons instantly took their resolution, and on the 15th of June sent Denzil Hollis up to the House of Lords to impeach the whole of them. In an eloquent speech Hollis dwelt upon the history of the earlier parts of this reign; showed that it had ever been the policy of the court "to strike at parliaments, keep off parliaments, break parliaments, or divide parliaments." "A new plot," said Hollis, "is this: the members are drawn away, and persuaded to forsake their duty, and go down to York, thereby to blemish the actions of both Houses, as done by a few and inconsiderable number, a party rather than a parliament, and perhaps to raise and set up an anti-parliament there. My lords, this is now the great design against this parliament, which is the only means to continue us to be a nation of freemen, and not of slaves, to be owners of anything: in a word, which must stand in the gap to prevent an inlet and inundation of all misery and confusion." He then, in the name of all the Commons of England, impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, Spencer earl of Northampton, William earl of Devonshire, Henry earl of Dover, Henry earl of Monmouth, Charles lord Howard of Charleton, Robert lord Rich, Charles lord Grey of Ruthven, Thomas lord Coventry,

and Arthur lord Capel. The lords that remained made little or no attempt to screen the lords that had fled ; and, shortly after, " being in their robes," they adjudged the fugitives never to sit more as members of that House, to be utterly incapable of any benefit or privileges of parliament, and to suffer imprisonment during their pleasure. On the 2nd of June the Lords and Commons sent a petition to the king with nineteen propositions, as the basis of a treaty of concord and lasting peace. They demanded that the king should dismiss all such great officers and ministers of state as were not approved of by both houses of parliament, and that an oath should be taken by all future members of the privy council ; that the great affairs of the kingdom should not be transacted by the advice of private men or by any unknown or unsworn counsellors ; that he or they unto whom the government and education of the king's children were committed should be approved of by both Houses ; that the church government and liturgy should undergo such a reformation as both houses of parliament should advise ; that his majesty should contribute his best assistance for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers throughout the kingdom, and give his consent to laws for the taking away of innovations, superstitions, and *pluralities* ; that he should rest satisfied with the course that the Lords and Commons had taken for ordering of the Militia until the same should be further settled by a bill ; that such members of either house of parliament as had, during this present parliament, been put out of any place and office, might either be restored to that place and office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same upon the petition of that House of which they were members ; that all privy counsellors and judges should take an oath for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of other wholesome statutes made by this present parliament ; that all the judges, and all the officers appointed by approbation of parliament, should hold their places during good behaviour ; that the justice of parliament should be left to take its course with all delinquents, and that all persons cited by either House should appear

and abide the censure of parliament; that the forts and castles of the kingdom should be put under the command and custody of such persons as his majesty should appoint, *with the approbation of parliament*; that the extraordinary guards and military forces now attending his majesty should be removed and discharged, and that for the future he should raise no such guards or extraordinary forces, but, according to the law, in case of actual rebellion or invasion, &c., &c.*

Charles, with lords about him, with arms and gunpowder, and with the prospect of more from Holland, thought himself as strong as the parliament: he received these propositions with great indignation, and, in replying to them, he taxed the parliament as cabalists and traitors, as the makers of new laws and new constitutional doctrines; and in the end he told them that their demands were unworthy of his royal descent from so many famous ancestors, unworthy of the trust reposed in him by the laws; protesting that, if he were both vanquished and a prisoner, in worse condition than any of the most unfortunate of his predecessors had ever been reduced to, he would never stoop so low as to grant those demands, and make himself, from a King of England, a Doge of Venice.

And now "the fatal time was come when those long and tedious paper-conflicts of declarations, petitions, and proclamations were turned into actual and bloody wars, and the pens seconded by drawn swords."† Charles sent out commissions of array, beginning with Leicestershire, and enjoined or invited all men to bring him money, horses, and arms, on security of his forests and parks for the principal and eight per cent. interest. He

* In their seventeenth proposition, the parliament alluded to the old and now almost forgotten subject of the Palatinate; telling the king that his subjects would be much encouraged by these close Protestant alliances, and enabled in a parliamentary way to give him aid and assistance in restoring his royal sister and her princely issue to those dignities and dominions which belonged to them.

† May.

forbade all levies without his consent, and called upon his subjects to be mindful of their oath of allegiance, and faithful to his royal person. It was now found that he had a strong party in the country: the church, the universities, the majority of the nobles, and perhaps of the country gentlemen,—the loyalty of the latter class being generally great in proportion to their distance from the court and their ignorance of court life,—rallied round him. The austerity of the Puritans' manners, their gloomy doctrine, and coarse fanaticism, drove most of the gay and dissolute, and many who were gay without being dissolute, into his party, which was further strengthened by many good, virtuous, and moderate men, who disliked his former conduct, who dreaded his tyrannical disposition, but dreaded the untried democratic violence still more. Nor was Charles wanting in solemn protestations and assurances. To the lords who had gathered around him at York, and to the members of his privy council there, he made a short and comprehensive declaration of his just and liberal intentions and tender regard for the liberties of his people. And it was upon this express declaration that those lords contracted a solemn engagement, and signed a bond to stand by him, to defend his majesty's person, crown, and dignity, with his just and legal prerogative, against all persons, parties, and powers whatsoever.*

. At the same time the parliament, declaring all these measures to be against law and the national liberties, made their preparations with at least equal vigour. On

* These are the names of those who subscribed:—The Lord Keeper Littleton; Duke of Richmond; Marquess of Hertford; Earls of Lindsay, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Northampton, Devonshire, Bristol, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Monmouth, Rivers, Newcastle, Dover, Caernarvon, Newport; Lords Mowbray and Maltravers, Willoughby of Eresby, Rich, Charles Howard of Charleton, Newark, Paget, Chandois, Falconbridge, Paulet, Lovelace, Coventry, Savile, Mohun, Dunsmore, Seymour, Grey of Ruthven, Falkland, the Comptroller, Secretary Nicholas, Sir John Culpeper, Lord Chief Justice Banks.

the 10th of June an order was made by both Houses for bringing in money and plate to maintain horse, horsemen, and arms, for the preservation of the public peace, *and defence of the king's person*; for the parliament, down to the appointment of Oliver Cromwell to the chief command, always joined this expression with that of their own safety. The two Houses engaged the public faith, that whosoever should bring in any money or plate, or furnish men or arms, should be repaid with eight per cent. interest; and they appointed four treasurers, Sir John Wollaston, alderman of London, Alderman Towes, Alderman Warner, and Alderman Andrewes, to grant receipts to the lenders, and certain commissaries to value the horses and arms which should be furnished for the national service. Forthwith a great mass of money was heaped up at Guildhall, and daily increased by the free contributions of the people. The poor contributed with the rich. "Not only the wealthiest citizens and gentlemen who were near dwellers brought in their large bags and goblets, but the poorer sort, like that widow in the gospel, presented their mites also; insomuch that it was a common jeer of men disaffected to the cause, to call this the thimble and bodkin army."*

Charles wrote a letter to the lord mayor of London, the aldermen and sheriffs, forbidding these contributions, and inveighing bitterly against the parliament. This letter was wholly without effect, as was an attempt made at the same time to win over the fleet. Clarendon says that this latter scheme only failed through a mistake or blunder of the king's agents; but it appears evident that the cause of its failure really was the devotion of the captains and seamen to the popular cause. The Earl of Warwick, a great lover of the sea-service and highly popular as a commander, called a council of war, and laid before his officers both the ordinance of parliament which appointed him to the command, and the letters of the king which required him to surrender that command to Sir John Pennington. With the exception of five, all

* May.

the sea-captains agreed with the earl that at this crisis the orders of the two Houses were more binding than those of the sovereign, and that the fleet could not be put into the hands of Pennington without the greatest peril to the nation's liberties.

On the 12th of July, the parliament, thus masters of the navy, voted that an army should be raised for the safety of the king's person and defence of the country and parliament; that the Earl of Essex should be captain-general of this army, and the Earl of Bedford general of the horse. They appointed a committee of both Houses to assist the Earl of Essex, and to nominate colonels, field-officers, and captains to this army, "which, considering the long peace that had prevailed in England, and the unprovided state of the country in respect of military stores, was not only raised, but also well armed, in a short time." Many of the lords, who still sat in the House at Westminster, took commissions as colonels, under Essex, and many gentlemen of the House of Commons of greatest rank and quality there, entered the service, some in the cavalry, some in the common foot regiments. Among these latter were Sir John Merrick, the Lord Grey of Groby, Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Bulstrode Whitelock, Sir William Waller, and the excellent Hampden, who took a colonel's commission, and went into Buckinghamshire to raise a regiment of infantry among his own tenants and servants, friends, and neighbours. Hampden's regiment was known by its excellent appointments, its green uniform, and its standard, which bore on one side the watchword of the parliament, "God with us," and on the other the patriot's own motto, "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*" This high-minded commoner, who had been bred up in wealth and in peace, and who had studied the art of war only in books, presently became one of the best officers in the parliamentary service, and he made his regiment one of the very best. He made himself thoroughly master of his military duties, and, according to Clarendon, he performed them upon all occasions most punctually. "He was," says Clarendon, "of a personal courage equal to his best

parts ; so that he was an enemy not to be wished where-ever he might have been a friend, and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be."

Meanwhile the king was moving about from place to place to gather forces, and draw over the people. His commission of array and the parliament's ordinance of militia were jostling together in nearly every county in England ; the greatest of the nobility upon both sides coming forward personally to seize upon those places which they were appointed to look after either by the king or by the parliament. The one party held the ordinances to be illegal, the other denounced the royal proclamations. Yet in some counties there was no struggle at all, but one party wholly prevailed from the beginning. Generally speaking, the more commercial, more civilized and thriving districts were for the parliament ; the more remote, the less prosperous, and less civilized were for the king ; but this general rule had its exceptions. In Lincolnshire the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was appointed lord-lieutenant by the parliament, raised the militia with great vigour and success, and was foremost in securing the services of that portion of the army. In Essex, the Earl of Warwick, whose care was not confined to the navy, but who had been also appointed lord-lieutenant, soon completed the levy of militia, which was increased by volunteers in unusual numbers. In Kent there was cheerful obedience shown to the ordinance of parliament. In Surrey and Middlesex the militia was raised with enthusiasm. The eastern part of Sussex, or all that portion which lay upon the sea, was firm to the parliament, but the western part of that county stood for the king under some lords and members who had deserted the parliament. The eastern counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge were kept quiet from the beginning, chiefly through the great wisdom and indefatigable industry of Oliver Cromwell, who had taken out a commission as colonel of horse. There, too, many of the gentry rather inclined in their affections to the king's commission of array ; out the

traders, the freeholders, and the yeomen in general liked the ordinance, and the militia they raised was too strong to permit the other party to engage in a war; those gentlemen that attempted to raise men or provide arms for the king were crushed at the beginning, and from first to last one of the greatest supports of the parliamentary cause was found in the county of Cromwell's birth. In Berkshire the Earl of Holland, the parliament's lord-lieutenant, raised the militia in spite of the faint resistance of the Earl of Berkshire, the Lord Lovelace, and others. Hampden fell upon the Earl of Berkshire soon after, made him prisoner while engaged in an attempt to seize the magazine of arms, ammunition, &c., gathered at Watlington in Oxfordshire, and sent him up to the parliament. Buckinghamshire, Hampden's county, was true almost to a man to the parliament. The county of Southampton was divided at first, and long continued to be so. In Derbyshire, where many great lords and gentlemen dwelt, not one of note stood for the parliament, except Sir John Gell and his brother. Farther north the king's party was very prevalent: the Earl of Newcastle kept the town of Newcastle with a strong garrison for the king; and the Earl of Cumberland, Charles's lord-lieutenant of Yorkshire, actively pressed the commission of array, although resisted by the Lord Fairfax and other parliamentarians. In Lancashire the Lord Strange, son to the Earl of Derby, whom Charles had appointed lord-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, endeavoured to put in action the commission of array, while Sir Thomas Stanley, the Egertons, and others, urged forward the ordinance. On the 15th of July, Lord Strange made an attempt to gain Manchester; a skirmish ensued, and one man was slain, "which," says May, "was the first blood shed in these civil wars." Some time after Strange returned to Manchester with three thousand men, but he was beaten off, and that time with considerable loss. Nor was he more successful in Cheshire, where Charles had joined in commission with him the Roman Catholic Earl of Rivers. It was in Lancashire and Cheshire that the papists were

most numerous : in the first they kept quiet, in Cheshire they were disarmed by the parliamentarians. In the west of England, especially in the extreme west, the king's party was numerous. The most considerable skirmish that occurred before Charles's raising his standard, was in Somersetshire, where the Marquess of Hertford was opposed by the deputy lieutenants of the county, and where ten men were slain and many wounded.*

About the end of July the parliament had sent a commission to the king, who was then at Beverley, to entreat him to forbear his hostile preparations and dismiss his garrisons. His reply was, that they ought to lay down their arms first, and he ordered this answer, which contained many bitter reflections on their proceedings, to be read in all churches. They replied, ordering their answer to be read in churches and everywhere else. A few days after, Charles published a declaration to all his loving subjects concerning the proceedings of this present parliament. This paper occupied fifty large and close quarto pages of print ; it contained a kind of history of all that had passed between him and the Houses, vowed a wonderful love to parliaments, but required that the Lord Kimbolton and the five members of the House of Commons before accused, and two other members, Mr. Henry Martin and Sir Henry Ludlow, should be given up to the king's justice. Charles also desired to have delivered up to him Alderman Pennington, the new lord mayor of London,† and Captain Venn, an officer of the city train-bands ; and he required that indictments of high treason should be drawn against the

* May.—Rushworth—Whitelock.—Ludlow.

† Sir Richard Gurney, the late lord mayor of London, was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, to which he had been committed by the parliament, for being a mover of sedition in the kingdom, in causing the king's proclamation concerning the commission of array to be cried in the city. He was put from his mayoralty, declared incapable of ever bearing any office in city or commonwealth, and sentenced to imprisonment during the pleasure of both Houses.

Earls of Essex, Warwick, and Stamford, the Lord Brooke, Sir John Hotham, and Serjeant-Major-General Skippon, as likewise against all those who should dare to raise the militia by virtue of the ordinance of parliament. The royal pen was, indeed, "very quick upon all occasions;" and the day after the publication of this long declaration, Charles sent a message upbraiding both Houses for borrowing a sum for their present uses out of a loan made by adventurers for reducing Ireland, and affirming that *they* were the cause of prolonging the bloody rebellion in that country. This was turning upon parliament one of the heaviest accusations they had made against the king. They replied vehemently, and yet circumstantially, calling to remembrance the many particulars of their care for the relief of Ireland, and the many instances in which the king had hindered it.*

Charles flattered himself that, if he could only obtain possession of Hull, he might soon be undisputed master of all the north. A secret correspondence was opened with Sir John Hotham, who so far departed from his former line of conduct as to allow the royalists to entertain hopes that he would betray the parliament and deliver up that important city. The king posted Lord Lindsay at Beverley with 3000 foot and 1000 horse, to carry the place by siege, if Hotham should not keep his engagement; and in the mean time he himself visited other points; "and, within three weeks, both in his own person and by his messengers, with speeches, proclamations, and declarations, he advanced his business in a wonderful manner. At Newark he made a speech to the gentry of Nottinghamshire in a loving and winning way, commending their affections towards him; which was a great part of persuasion for the future, coming from a king himself. Another speech he made at Lincoln to the gentry of that county, full of protestations concerning his good intentions, not only to them, but to the whole kingdom, the laws and liberties of it."† From Lincoln Charles went to Leicester, where the Earl of

* May.—Rushworth.

† May.
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Stamford was executing the parliament's ordinance of the militia. He hoped to take the earl in the fact, but that nobleman fell back upon Northampton, whither Charles durst not follow him; for Northampton was a town so true to the parliament, that it would have shut its gates against the king, as Hull had done. The king, however, seized that noted victim of Laud's barbarity, Dr. Bastwick, who had taken a commission under the Earl of Stamford, and remained doing his duty in levying men when his general beat a retreat. Charles would have had him instantly indicted of high treason at the assizes then sitting, but the judge entreated his majesty not to put a matter of so great moment upon one single judge, but to cause the law in that case to be declared by all the twelve judges. The latter course he said might do his majesty good, whereas the publishing of *his* particular opinion could only destroy himself, and nothing advance his majesty's service. This judge also expressed his doubts whether any jury suddenly summoned at that moment would have courage to find the bill; and upon this suggestion Charles gave up the idea of hanging, drawing, and quartering the doctor, who had already been scourged, pilloried, mutilated, and branded by Laud. There is a great deal in this little transaction to show that the character of the king had undergone no change. The night before his leaving Leicester, the judge and the gentlemen of the county, including even those that were most loyal, waited upon him with a request that he would liberate the prisoner, or suffer the judge to do so upon his *habeas corpus*. Charles told them "he would think of it till the next morning;" and in the meanwhile he directed a messenger of the chamber very early, with such assistance as the sheriff should give, to carry Bastwick away to Nottingham; and by the help of the sheriff there to the gaol at York: all which was executed accordingly with expedition and secrecy, for fear of a rescue.*

Returning to Beverley, Charles received a letter from

* Clarendon, Hist.

Lord Digby, who had returned from the continent in disguise, and smuggled himself into Hull, where he had voluntarily discovered himself to the governor for the purpose of tampering with him. But now Digby, the daring and restless head of the queen's faction, informed Charles that he found Hotham much shaken in his resolution of delivering Hull—seeing, as Sir John said, that his officers were of a temper not to be relied upon, and his own son, the younger Hotham, was grown jealous of some design, and was counter-working it. Presently after this information, the king's army, not confident of carrying the town by open force, and no longer counting on the treachery of the governor, had recourse to another plot; and, knowing some men within the walls fit for their purpose, they arranged that Hull should be set on fire in four several places, and that, while the parliament soldiers and inhabitants were busied in quenching the flames, 2000 men should assault the walls. The signal to those within the town was to be a fire lit in the night on Beverley Minster; but the plot was discovered by one of the instruments, and it so provoked the townsmen of Hull, that the walls could not contain them; but 500 of them, conducted by Sir John Meldrum, made a sortie, and fell fiercely upon the beleaguers. The king's soldiers seemed inclined to fight bravely, but the train-bands of that county were not forward to be engaged against their neighbours, and horse and foot fled as fast as they could to Beverley. Sir John Meldrum followed in their wake, killed two, took thirty prisoners, and carried some important magazines which the king had placed between Beverley and Hull, where again the train-bands and other Yorkshiremen, bearing no great affection to that war, ran away and left their arms behind them. The king now called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to break up the siege of Hull and march away. Meldrum, that fiery Scot, got back to Hull with a good prize in ammunition and arms; but the elder Hotham, who was still wavering, and who evidently wished to keep well with both parties, safely dismissed to the king the Lord Digby and

that other active servant of royalty, John Ashburnham.* Charles dismissed the train-bands, and returned to York, in much less credit than when he came from thence. But his spirits were revived by the news "that so notable a place as Portsmouth had declared for him, . . . and that so good an officer as Goring was returned to his duty, and in possession of that town." Hereupon he published a declaration, in which he recapitulated all the insolent and rebellious actions of the two Houses, forbidding all his subjects to yield any obedience to what was no longer a parliament, but a cabal and faction. And at the same time he issued his proclamation requiring all men that could bear arms to repair to him at Nottingham by the 25th of August.

"According to the proclamation," proceeds the noble historian, "upon the 25th day of August, the standard was erected about six of the clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day. The king himself, with a small train, rode to the top of the castle-hill, Varney, the knight-marshal, who was standard-bearer, carrying the standard, which was then erected in that place with little other ceremony than the sound of drums and trumpets. Melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. There was not one regiment of foot yet brought thither, so that the train-bands which the sheriff had drawn together were all the strength the king had for his person and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town. The standard was blown down the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the king's affairs when the standard was set up."†

* May.—Rushworth.—Clarendon.—Warwick.

† Clarendon, Hist.—Rushworth says that the standard was raised, not on the 25th of August, but on the *twenty-second*. His account differs in other essentials.

The king's dejection of spirits was increased by the failure of an attempt which he had made two or three days before upon the town of Coventry. Learning that Hampden's regiment and some other corps of parliamentarians were marching, by order of the Earl of Essex, to garrison Coventry, he had struck aside in that direction at the head of his cavalry, amounting to about 800 men, not doubting that he should secure the town, provided only he could arrive before the parliamentary foot. But the people of Coventry, like those of most manufacturing places, loved their parliament and their puritan preachers; and, though he did arrive first, the gates were shut in his face and some shots fired from the walls, by which some of his attendants were wounded. He had then retired to Stoneleigh, near Warwick, to pass the night there; and in the morning he had seen his horse in an open plain decline giving combat to Hampden's foot, and retreat before them without making a single charge for the honour of arms. Discouraged, hopeless, and wavering, the royalists at Nottingham proposed the king's immediate return to York, conceiving that not even his person was secure at Nottingham, as Essex was concentrating his forces at Northampton, where in fact that earl soon saw himself surrounded by an army of 15,000 men, composed of substantial yeomen and industrious burghers, the inhabitants of trading and manufacturing towns. Charles would not hear of this retreat; and when some of his council urged the expediency of making overtures for an accommodation with his parliament, he was so offended at the advice, that he declared he would never yield to it, and hastily broke up the council, that it might be no longer urged. The next day, however, the king yielded to the earnestness of the Earl of Southampton, who suggested to his majesty that if the parliament should refuse to treat, as it was thought they would, they would render themselves odious to the people, and thus dispose men to serve the king. It was upon this plea that Charles reluctantly agreed to send the Earls of Southampton and Dorset and Sir John Culpeper to London on the third day after raising the

standard at Nottingham. Culpeper was very obnoxious in the capital, for he was one of those who were considered as renegades ; but all three of the king's messengers were watched very suspiciously, and all the answer they could get was, that the parliament would enter upon no negotiations whatever until the king should have taken down his standard, and called in those proclamations by which he had declared the Earl of Essex and his adherents to be traitors, and had put the two Houses out of his protection, proclaiming their actions to be treasonable. Another message was sent from the king to the two Houses : but, on every ground, it was now hopeless to think of a peaceful arrangement ; and Charles's nephew, Prince Rupert, who had at last arrived in England, insulted all the royalists that still ventured to recommend pacific measures. This rash young man, who was instantly appointed to the highest command, so excited some of the principal officers with indignation at the thought of the overture recently made to parliament, that they were well nigh offering personal violence to the members of the council who had recommended that measure. Rupert, whom the English people soon learned to call ' Prince Robber,' was accompanied by his younger brother, Prince Maurice, and both " showed themselves very forward and active."* Prince Rupert, the elder brother, and the more furious of the two, within a fortnight after his arrival at Nottingham took the command of a small party and scoured through divers counties, hoping to roll himself, like a snow-ball, into a larger bulk, by the accession of recruits. He flew rather than marched through parts of Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire, not so much inviting the people by fair promises and kind demeanour, as compelling them by extreme rigour to take his side.

Charles vainly loitered at Nottingham, few or none joining his standard, or seeming likely to do so, when Essex was at hand with such a superior force. About

* May.

the middle of September he began to move towards the West of England, where the Marquess of Hertford engaged to do great things, and where several regiments were actually raised for his service. Essex had tendered to him the parliament's petition, praying for his return to his capital, and for the disbanding of his army; but Charles had refused to receive what he termed the insulting message of a set of traitors. On his march westward the king did not act like the fierce Rupert, but in a gentler and calmer way. Between Stafford and Wellington he halted his troops, and, having caused his orders of the day to be read at the head of each corps, he advanced to the front, and told the men for their comfort, that they should meet no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, or Atheists, who would destroy both church and commonwealth. He then made one of his solemn protestations, imprecating the vengeance of heaven upon himself and his posterity if his intentions were not solely for the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant religion established in the church of England, the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and the just privileges of parliament. He had already, at York, issued a proclamation against papists, forbidding the resort of any men of that religion to his camp; and yet at this moment he was surrounded by Catholics, and on his way to meet many more. His protestation and declaration only tended, therefore, to confirm his reputation for habitual falsehood and duplicity; but at the same time we cannot pass without reprobation the religious intolerance of the parliament and the great mass of the nation, which seemed in Charles's eyes to render this double course necessary.* Clarendon intimates that this conduct, and addresses of this kind, had a wonderful effect in increasing the king's party; but Charles could not always adhere to the line of mildness and persuasion. In part of his march he courteously summoned the county train-bands to attend him and guard his royal person; and when they were met, he ex-

* Rushworth.—May.

pressed doubts of their loyalty, forcibly disarmed them, gave their arms to others, and sent them away. Besides, he levied contributions, or, to use the quaint language of a contemporary, "he got good sums of money, which, not without some constraint, he borrowed from them." On the 20th of September he reached Shrewsbury, where he was cordially received. With fresh protestations on his lips that he would never suffer an army of papists to be raised, he wrote away to the Earl of Newcastle in the North, bidding him raise as many men as he could without any regard to their religion;* and at this moment, or a little later, he sent over to Ireland for Anglo-Irish troops, or for troops of native Catholics. Considerable quantities of plate were brought in, both voluntarily and by force; and a mint having been erected, money was struck with great rapidity. The Catholics of Shropshire and Staffordshire advanced the king 5000*l.* in cash; a country gentleman paid him 6000*l.* for the title of baron; and a few sums were secretly remitted by his partisans in London.

In the meantime the Earl of Essex, having secured the country round Northampton, put a good garrison into Coventry, and taking possession of Warwick, struck off to the west, in order to throw himself between the king and the capital, and get possession of the important city of Worcester. Prince Rupert and a detachment of the parliamentarians had a struggle for the possession of Worcester, before Essex, whose movements were generally slow and formal, could come up. Colonel Sandys, a gallant officer, fell in charging Rupert up a narrow lane, but in the end the Prince was driven from the town and across the bridge, leaving twenty dead and thirty prisoners behind him. Essex appeared almost immediately after this fight, and took an assured possession of Worcester; Prince Rupert rode back to the king. For three weeks Essex lay at Worcester doing nothing. Encouraged by this strange inaction, and by his own great accession of men, arms, and money, Charles quitted

* Sir Henry Ellis.

Shrewsbury on the 20th of October, with the intention of turning Essex's army, and marching straight upon London by Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth. Essex, it appears, was wholly ignorant of his movements till the king had got behind him; but he then followed with some alacrity, and entered the village of Keinton, in Warwickshire, on the 22nd, the same evening that the royalists halted at Edgehill, a very little in advance. Charles, by the advice of a council of war, resolved to turn round and face his pursuers, who, in their late and sudden movement, had left whole regiments behind them.

On the following morning, Sunday, the 23rd of October, when Essex looked towards Edgehill, he saw that the royalists had not retreated, but were there drawn up in order of battle. He presently arranged his own forces, placing the best of his field-pieces upon his right wing, guarded by two regiments of foot and some horse. But the parliamentarians liked not to charge the royalists up hill, and the royalists seemed determined not to quit their advantageous position. It might well be, too, that other considerations, apart from merely military ones, imposed a long and solemn pause. But whatever were the causes of the delay, it is certain that the two armies spent many hours in gazing at each other—long hours infinitely more trying than the heat and hurry of actual combat to the spirits of men, particularly to men newly, and for the far greater part for the first time in their lives, under arms. Charles was on the field in complete armour. He had retained to himself the title of generalissimo, naming the Earl of Lindsay (a brave and experienced old soldier, who in former times had been the comrade of Essex in the foreign wars), chief general under him; but Lindsay, disgusted with the petulance and impertinence of Prince Rupert, regarded himself as only a nominal chief, and took his place pike in hand, at the head of his own regiment. Sir Jacob Astley was major-general under the Earl of Lindsay. Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the horse, and Lord Wilmot the left, and two reserves

of horse were commanded, the one by Lord Digby, and the other by Sir John Byron. The royalists exceeded the parliamentarians in total number and in horse, but Essex had the better train of artillery. Pike in hand, Essex advanced into the broad plain at the foot of Edgehill, called the Vale of the Red Horse—"a name," says May, "suitable to the colour which that day was to bestow upon it—for *there* happened the greatest part of the encounter." At last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the Earl of Essex commanded his artillery to fire upon the enemy. The royalists presently replied with their cannon, and "the great shot was exchanged for the space of an hour or thereabout." Then the royalists began to descend the hill, and their main body of foot surrounding the king's standard, advanced within musket-shot. The parliamentarians made a charge to break them and seize the standard, but they were repulsed. Then Prince Rupert with his cavalry charged the left wing of the parliamentarians, broke it, and pursued it as far as the village of Keinton, where his men took to plundering instead of thinking of the main body which they had left. Though their left wing was thus broken, the right wing of the parliamentarians was intact, and a charge from that quarter, under Sir William Balfour, was so successful, that the king's artillerymen were driven from their guns, and several of the cannon spiked. After this brilliant charge, Sir William Balfour fell back upon the main body, whence the Earl of Essex advanced two regiments of foot to attack the mass of infantry which surrounded the royal standard. This body of royalists stood firm, and fought most gallantly; but presently Balfour came up with his horse, turned them, and attacked them in the rear, while some other squadrons of parliamentarians threatened them in flank; and then the royalists broke and ran back towards the hill. The Earl of Lindsay, the nominal general-in-chief under the king, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. The parliamentarians took many colours, and Lieutenant Middleton seized the royal standard and carried it to the Earl of Essex, who delivered it to his secre-

tary, Mr. Chambers, who suffered it to be taken from him, and so "privately conveyed away." The royalists, however, rallied on the hill top, and kept up a fire till nightfall. Rupert returned with his sword red with English blood, with his horses loaded with plunder; but he found the king's left wing broken, and the centre in the greatest confusion, nor could he recover his position on the right wing without sustaining a terrible charge from the parliamentary horse, led on by Sir Philip Stapleton.* Essex retained possession of the ground which his enemies had chosen to fight upon—the Vale of the Red Horse—during the night; but the royalists did not move from the top of the hill, where they made great fires all the night long. Great military faults had been committed on both sides, but there was certainly no deficiency of courage on either. The substantial yeomen, the burghers, the artisans, were new at the bloody game; but in this first great encounter they taught the cavaliers to respect the valour of the "thimble and bodkin" army. There is a great variety of statements as to the actual number of the slain; but taking a medium calculation, it appears that 4000 men lay dead that night in the Vale of the Red Horse. The loss of the royalists was greater than that of the parliamentarians, and Charles lost many distinguished officers, while Essex lost only two colonels, the Lord St. John and Colonel Walton.

On the following morning the parliamentarians were reinforced by three regiments commanded by Hampden, Denzil Hollis, and Lord Willoughby. Leaving some troops on the hill-top to mask their retreat, the royalists began to move off as fast as they could. Hampden, Hollis, Stapleton, and other members of parliament com-

* Both parties agree in opinion as to Prince Rupert's headlong rashness. Sir Philip Warwick, who was in the battle, says, that the cavalry pursued the chase contrary to all discipline of war, and left the king and his foot so alone, that it gave Essex a title to the victory of that day; which might have been his last day, if they had done their parts and stood their ground.

manding militia regiments, urged Essex to follow up the king and renew the battle; but the military men by profession—the officers who had served in regular wars on the continent—thought that enough had been done by an army of recruits, and that it would be wiser to accustom the men by degrees to warfare, and not to risk everything at once. The king marched to Banbury, and summoned it; and though about a thousand parliamentarians were in the town, they surrendered to him apparently without a blow.*

Charles then proceeded to Oxford, where he was welcomed by the University, which was enthusiastically loyal from the beginning. "Then, too, many of the greatest gentlemen of divers counties began to consider the king as one that in possibility might prove a conqueror, and many of those who before had stood at gaze as neutral, in hope that one quick blow might clear the doubt, and save them the danger of declaring themselves, came in readily and adhered to that side where there seemed to be least fears and greatest hopes."† The cavaliers that flocked to Oxford were generally well mounted, and this allowed Charles greatly to reinforce the cavalry under his nephew. Issuing from Oxford, Prince Rupert scoured the country, visited Abingdon, Henley, and other towns, and returned with great booty. Within a few days he made still nearer approaches towards London, penetrating as far as Staines and Egham. The parliament and the city of London were thrown into consternation, but they provided with spirit for their defence. Trenches were dug, and ramparts thrown up round the capital; seamen were embarked in boats and small vessels, and sent up the river; forces were detached to possess and fortify Windsor Castle. The trainbands of London, Middlesex, and Surrey were concentrated, and kept continually under arms. Associations of counties for mutual defence had already been allowed and recommended by the two Houses, and those bonds

* May.—Whitlock.—Rushworth.—Ludlow.—Warwick.

† May.

were now drawn closer at the approach of danger. In the eastern counties the association, which had been mainly organised and directed by Oliver Cromwell, was exceedingly formidable. The parliament, taking notice that the king had, by a formal commission, empowered Sir William Gerrard, Sir Cecil Trafford, and other Popish gentlemen, to take arms with their tenants and servants, resolved to strengthen themselves by the Presbyterian interest, and applied to the Scots for immediate assistance. Very varying news blew hot and cold among the Londoners: but at last, the Earl of Essex reached the neighbourhood of London, with his army in good condition and disposition; and quartering his men about Acton, he himself (on the 7th of November) rode into Westminster to give the parliament an account of his campaign. It was clear to most men that Essex had been far from doing the best that might have been done, but the two Houses wisely welcomed him, voted him thanks, and presented him with a gift of 5000*l.*, as an acknowledgment of his care, pains, and valour.

The earl had scarcely arrived in the capital when the king, quitting Oxford, marched upon Reading. Mr. Henry Martin, one of the most remarkable men in the House of Commons, commanded at this town; but, considering the place untenable with the forces he had with him, he evacuated it at the king's approach, and fell back upon London. Charles then advanced to Colnbrook, where he was met by the Earl of Northumberland and three members of the House of Commons, who presented a petition for an accommodation. Charles seemed to receive their address with great willingness, and he returned them a fair and smooth answer, calling God to witness that he was tenderly compassionate of his bleeding people, and so desirous of nothing as for a speedy peace. The deputation, well pleased, returned to the parliament, where the king's gracious answer was read to both Houses. Thereupon the Earl of Essex rose, and asked whether he was now to pursue or suspend hostilities? Parliament ordered the earl to suspend them, and despatched Sir Peter Killigrew to require a like ces-

sation on the part of the royalists, not having, however, the smallest doubt that Charles would consider himself bound by his entertaining their propositions of an accommodation, and by his gracious message of the preceding evening, to remain in a state of truce. But Killigrew was scarcely gone when the loud roar of cannon was heard in the house of Lords. The Earl of Essex rushed out of the House, mounted his horse, and galloped across the parks in the direction of the ominous sound. As he approached Brentford the earl learned, to his astonishment, the trick which had been played. Prince Rupert, closely followed by the king in person and by the whole royal army, taking advantage of a dense November fog, had advanced and fallen unexpectedly upon Brentford, which was occupied by a broken regiment of Colonel Hollis's, "but stout men all, who had before done good service at Edgehill." The royalists fancied they should cut their way through Brentford without any difficulty, get on to Hammersmith, where the parliament's train of artillery lay, and then perhaps take London by sudden night assault. But Hollis's men opposed their passage, and stopped their march so long at Brentford, that the gallant regiments of Hampden and Lord Brooke had time to come up. These three regiments, not without great loss, completely barred the road; and when Essex, who had gathered a considerable force of horse as he rode along, came to the spot, he found that the royalists had given over the attack, and were lying quietly on the western side of Brentford. Charles had kept himself safe at Hounslow, and there he lay that night. "All that night," says May, "the city of London poured out men towards Brentford, who every hour marched thither; and all the lords and gentlemen that belonged to the parliament army were there ready by Sunday morning, the 14th of November." The city bands had marched forth cheerfully under the command of Major-General Skippon, who enjoyed the entire confidence of parliament and the extraordinary favour of the Londoners.*

* Skippon was a character. He was accustomed to make very short, pithy, and homely speeches to the train-bands and

Essex found himself in the course of this Sunday at the head of twenty-four thousand men, who were drawn up in battle array on Turnham-green.* Hampden, with his brave men of Buckinghamshire, began to make a detour with the intention of falling upon the king's rear, while the rest of the parliamentarians should attack him in front and turn his flanks; but they had scarcely marched a mile, when Sir John Merrick, Essex's major-general, galloped after them, and told them that the general had changed his mind as to dividing his forces, and ordered them back. Hampden and his green coats, exceedingly troubled, fell back accordingly. And thus, leaving the king's rear unencumbered, the parliamentarians stood at gaze, facing the royalists, but doing nothing. At last it was consulted whether the parliament army should not advance and fall upon the king's forces, as was advised by most of the members of parliament and gentlemen who were officers, "but the soldiers of fortune, who love long campaigns as physicians love long diseases," were altogether against it; and while they were consulting, Charles drew off his carriages and ordnance. Upon this there was another consultation, whether the parliamentarians should pursue. Again Hampden, Hollis, all the members of parliament, all the gentlemen who had become soldiers only for their principles, were for the bolder course, and all the old soldiers of fortune, the men who had made war their regular trade and profession,

cockney troops, the most zealous of which were, of course, all puritans. On this occasion Whitelock tells us his speech was to this effect:—"Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily, and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bless us." "Thus," continues Whitelocke, "he went all along with the soldiers, talking to them, sometimes with one company, sometimes to another; and the soldiers seemed to be more taken with it than with a set formal oration."

* Whitelocke.

were against it. Charles, scarcely crediting his good luck, got safe to Kingston, and crossed the bridge there without opposition, and without ammunition enough in his own army to have lasted a quarter of an hour.*

The parliament, indignant, voted that they would never again have any treaty or truce with the king; yet at the opening of the following year (1643) they entertained more pacific notions, and in the month of March they began a hopeless treaty at Oxford, where Charles was lying in great strength. Their principal demand was that the king should disband his army, and return to his capital and parliament, leaving delinquents to trial, and papists to be disarmed; that he should pass a bill for abolishing bishops, and such other bills as should be presented for reformation.

When the negotiations had been wire-drawn through several weeks they ended in nothing. They had never interrupted the progress of hostilities; and the warlike operations in the interval had, on the whole, been favourable to the Parliamentarians. Reading was taken by the Earl of Essex. Then Hampden, ever the proposer or advocate of bold measures, recommended the immediate investing of Oxford, hoping to finish the war at once by the capture of Charles and his court. Clarendon confesses that, if this measure had been adopted, it could scarcely have failed of success; but again the Earl of Essex objected, and consulted his professional officers, who agreed in representing the enterprise as too hazardous. The king, who had already deliberated respecting a retreat into the north, took fresh courage.

The queen had arrived in Burlington Bay, where the Earl of Newcastle met her with his army to conduct her to York. She remained four months in Yorkshire, strengthening and inspiring the royalist party. Again overtures were made to Sir John Hotham in Hull; and the Earl of Newcastle was so considerably reinforced, that Lord Fairfax, the general for parliament in the north, could scarcely make head against him. A fierce

* Rushworth.—May.—Ludlow.—Clarendon.—Warwick.

war of outposts ensued between these two commanders ; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, then a young man and general of the horse to his father, began to acquire in this service that military skill and experience which subsequently rendered him one of the best officers in England. By the month of May Henrietta Maria was enabled to send arms and ammunition to her husband at Oxford, who had for some time been lying inactive for want of gunpowder. Charles then prepared to act, but, that he might commence a sanguinary campaign with peaceful professions, he sent a message to the parliament to speak again of accommodation. The Lords, or that minority of them which remained in London, received his message with respect : the Commons threw his messenger into prison and then impeached the queen of high treason. Pym carried up the impeachment to the Lords " where it stuck many months." About this time a conspiracy was discovered, headed by Waller the poet, who had been for some time in secret communication with Lord Falkland, now the king's secretary. The main objects of it were to seize the persons of the leading members of the House of Commons, and deliver up the city of London to Charles. A jury in Guildhall found a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. Challoner, and Tomkins, who was brother-in-law to Waller, were hanged ; three others were reprieved and eventually saved by the mercy of Parliament ; and Waller, the chief of the conspiracy, after a year's imprisonment in the Tower, was, upon payment of 10,000*l.*, " released to go travel abroad."*

About the same time, in the busy month of May, the Commons unanimously took a solemn vow never to consent to lay down their arms so long as the papists in open war against the parliament should be protected from the justice thereof, made a new great seal, and passed the act for an assembly of divines to settle religion. Commissioners were appointed to execute the office of lord keeper, and the first day that the seal was

* Whitelock.—May.—Journals.

brought into play, which was not until several months after, no fewer than five hundred writs were passed under it. An important plot had also been discovered at Bristol, where Robert Yeomans, late sheriff, William Yeomans, his brother, and some other royalists, had engaged to deliver that city to the king's forces under the command of Prince Rupert. Colonel Fiennes, the governor, son of the Lord Saye and Sele, discovered this plot in good time, apprehended the conspirators, and brought them to trial before a council of war, which condemned four of them to the gallows. The king interfered to save their lives, telling the governor of Bristol that if he presumed to execute any of them he (the king) would do the same by four prisoners taken in rebellion and now at York. Governor Fiennes replied, that the laws of nature among all men, and the laws of arms among soldiers, made a difference between open enemies and secret spies and conspirators. Fiennes also threatened to retaliate upon royalist prisoners in his hands.* The king ordered the mayor of Bristol to hinder the murder of his loyal subjects, but Fiennes forthwith hanged Robert Yeomans, the chief conspirator, and one George Bourchier. Luckily the king did not retaliate as he had threatened. But before this correspondence took place, Charles had been obliged to acknowledge the laws of war, and to treat his prisoners not as captured rebels, but as soldiers fighting with a sufficient commission.

By means of the supplies which he had received from the queen, Charles was enabled to renew active operations; and Prince Rupert and the cavalry during the month of June swept the whole country between Oxford and Bath on one side, and on the other, where Essex's lines were too much extended, broke through and pillaged in Berkshire and in Buckinghamshire. At this time Colonel Hurry, or Urrie, one of the lord-general's soldiers of fortune, deserted to the king, and informed Prince Rupert that two parliament regiments,

* Rushworth.

detached and open to attack, lay at Wycombe. The prince resolved upon a night attack. On Saturday, the 17th of June, about four o'clock in the afternoon, his trumpets sounded through the streets of Oxford to boot and saddle; and in less than half an hour his cavalry crossed over Magdalen bridge, and, being joined by some infantry, pushed on rapidly towards the parliament country. They were 2000 men, but they were allowed to pass within two or three miles of Thame, where Essex now lay with the main body of the parliament army, without interruption or challenge. They crossed the Cherwell at Chiselhampton bridge, and, stealing through the woodlands about Stokenchurch, they got to the quiet little hamlet of Postcombe at about three o'clock in the morning. There, apparently to their surprise, they found a troop of horse, who mounted, and, after a slight skirmish, retired in good order, beating up the people, and giving the alarm to other picquets and outposts. Thereupon, instead of pushing forward to the two regiments at Wycombe, Rupert turned aside with his whole force of cavalry to Chinnor, where he slaughtered some fifty parliamentarians, and dragged away half naked at the horses' sides about sixscore prisoners. The sun now rose, and a party of the parliament's horse appeared on the side of the Beacon Hill. It was led on by the patriot Hampden, who had slept that night at Watlington, in the neighbourhood, and who had vainly urged Essex the day before to strengthen his line by calling in the remote picquets from Wycombe, Postcombe, and Chinnor. On the first alarm of Rupert's night irruption he despatched a trooper to the lord-general at Thame, advising him to detach a force of infantry and cavalry to Chiselhampton bridge, the only point at which the royalists could recross the Cherwell. And, this done, Hampden instantly mounted his horse, and rode with a troop of Captain Sheffield's horse, and some of Gunter's dragoons, to keep the royalists in play till the slow Essex should have time to come up or send his column to Chiselhampton bridge. A sharp encounter presently took place on Chalgrove-field among the standing corn.

The parliamentarians were checked and thrown into confusion, and Major Gunter was slain. Hampden, who expected every moment to see the head of Essex's column, rode up to rally and support the disordered horse of Gunter; and, putting himself at the head of a squadron, he charged Rupert's right. But as he was spurring up to the royalists, he was struck in the shoulder with two carabine-balls, which broke the bone and entered his body. The reins fell from his disabled arm, and with his head bent in agony over his horse's neck, he turned away from that fatal charge. His friends then fell into disorder, and, looking in vain for the tardy Essex, they commenced a retreat, leaving many officers and men dead on the field. Rupert pushed on for Chiselhampton bridge. There was no Essex there, nor any troops of his sending. The royalists recrossed the Cherwell, and hurried back with their prisoners and booty to Oxford. Meanwhile Hampden was seen riding off the field before the action was quite over. At first he moved in the direction of his father-in-law Simeon's house at Pyrton, where he had in his youth married the first wife of his love, and whither he would fain have gone to die; but Rupert's cavalry covered the plain in that direction, and so he turned his horse's head and rode towards Thame. Fainting with pain, he reached Thame, and was conducted to the house of one Ezekiel Browne. The surgeons at first gave him hopes of life, but he felt himself that his hurts were mortal. The pain of the wounds was excruciating, yet he almost immediately occupied himself in writing letters to the parliament. He again sent to head-quarters, earnestly to recommend the correction of those military errors to which he had fallen a sacrifice; to implore Essex to concentrate his army so as to cover London and set at defiance the flying incursions of Rupert's horse. After nearly six days of suffering, he felt that the weakness and decay of the body were prevailing over the strength of his soul, and he prepared to die like a Christian. He expired on the 24th of June, with a prayer upon his lips for his country, and was buried a few days after in the parish church of

Hampden. His gallant greencoats—one of the best regiments that as yet bore arms for the parliament—bare-headed, with their arms reversed, their drums and ensigns muffled, followed him to the grave, singing the 90th Psalm. And when those hardy soldiers had seen the dust heaped upon him who had been the friend of all of them from their youth upwards, they returned chanting a more hopeful strain, calling upon the God of their strength to plead their cause, to send out his light and truth, and prevent their soul from being disquieted.* Never in the memory of those times had there been so general a consternation and sorrow at any one man's death as that with which the tidings were received in London, and by the friends of the parliament all over the land.

Other misfortunes came thick upon the parliament. On the 30th of June the Earl of Newcastle entirely defeated Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas, at Atherton Moor; while, in the meantime, he had opened a secret correspondence with the Hothams, who had conceived a great jealousy of the younger Fairfax. The Hothams agreed to shut out the Fairfaxes, and to admit Newcastle, who was to garrison Hull for the king. But some members gained timely intelligence of this dangerous plot, seized the two Hothams, fettered and chained them, and put the Lord Fairfax into the town. A few months after they were tried and convicted of high treason; and both father and son were executed on Tower-hill, at the beginning of January, 1644.

Oliver Cromwell, marching at the head of a thousand horse of his own raising, gained several conspicuous advantages in the field. At the same time he put a new life into the dispirited levies of the parliament, and with their assistance he gained a brilliant victory near Grantham. The parliament was not so successful in the west, where Sir William Waller was defeated near Devizes. And shortly after this Prince Rupert, who had many correspondents and friends within that town, fell upon

* 43rd Psalm.

Bristol with all his fury. Nathaniel Fiennes, the parliamentary governor, was a better debater in the House than military commander, and he surrendered Bristol after a siege of only three days. For this he was afterwards sentenced by a council of war to lose his life, but he was pardoned by the Earl of Essex. Exeter, whither the queen had retired to be delivered of a daughter, was strongly fortified, and the wild and hardy men of Cornwall were furiously loyal. The only strong place in the west which held out for the parliament was the city of Gloucester, wherein lay for some weeks the whole fortune of the war. In her way from the north, the queen, bringing very considerable reinforcements, among whom were many French and Walloons, had passed through Oxford, and spent some time there with her husband. At this moment it was apprehended that Charles would make another attempt upon the capital, and the Londoners set themselves to work to fortify the city. "The example of gentlemen of the best quality, knights and ladies, going out with drums beating and spades and mattocks in their hands to assist in the work, put life into the drooping people ;"* and in an incredibly short space of time entrenchments, twelve miles in circuit, were thrown up round London. Upon this, Charles, instead of advancing into the south, struck away to the west, to lay siege to Gloucester. Essex soon followed him to relieve that important place ; and, by an admirably conducted march, he got from Hounslow to Gloucester just in time to save that city.

Leaving a good garrison and all necessary supplies in Gloucester, Essex turned back to recover his position in front of London. This retrograde march was as well conducted as the advance had been, but, when he got near Newbury, he found the king strongly posted there, and drawn up to cut off his retreat. A fierce battle was the consequence. The parliamentary horse was sharply handled and thrown into confusion, but their excellent foot restored the fortune of the day. "For," says Clarendon, "though the king's horse made the enemy's

* May.

horse often give ground, yet their foot were so immovable that little was gotten by the other." Night at last came on, and separated the combatants. During the darkness the royalists removed their cannon and other carriages to Donnington Castle, and having lodged them there, marched off towards Oxford. In the morning Essex entered Newbury, whence he proceeded without opposition to Reading. In the battle of Newbury, which was fought on the 20th of September, Essex's men "were full of mettle;" and the London recruits, the apprentices, the artisans, and the shopkeepers of London, particularly distinguished themselves.* The parliamentarians lost some five hundred men and very few officers: the king lost treble the number of men and many officers of rank; but the greatest loss of all was estimated to be that of the accomplished Lord Falkland, then Charles's secretary of state, who was struck with a musket-ball, and died on the field, only three months after the death of his opponent, but once bosom friend, Hampden.

According to Clarendon, from the first entrance into this unnatural war, Falkland's natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to. He became sad, pale, and splenetic, neglecting his dress, shunning all recreation, and constantly exclaiming "Peace! Peace!" or declaring that the horrors of war and the desolation of the kingdom deprived him of sleep and rest, and would shortly break his heart.†

In the preceding year, when London seemed to be threatened by the king, the parliament had made certain applications for aid to the Scots; but it was not till the middle of the present year (1643) that those negotiations

* May mentions that the two train-bands of London were often charged by both horse and foot, but stood to it with undaunted resolution. Clarendon pays the same compliment, stating that all Essex's foot behaved themselves admirably.

† Clarendon, Hist. There are some little traits in Whitelock's account of Lord Falkland's death quite as touching as anything in the full, eloquent outpouring of Clarendon.

were pressed with any earnestness. In the meantime Charles, by means of the Duke of Hamilton,* had required, as the only thing he would ask of them, that his native subjects the Scots would not rebel. But Hamilton had failed, and Montrose had again accused him and his brother the Earl of Lanark of treason. Charles hereupon had laid his hands upon Hamilton, but Lanark had the good fortune to escape. After a time the duke was sent a close prisoner to the castle of Mount St. Michael in Cornwall; his brother Lanark joined the English parliament, and assisted them in their difficult negotiations with the old Covenanters. Those zealots insisted, as a preliminary, that the English parliament should take *their* covenant, and bind themselves to the preservation of the king's person, and to the reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the "pattern of the best reformed," which latter clause meant that the English were to adopt the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland with all its bigotry and intolerance. But by this time the Independents, who hated Presbyterianism almost as much as Arminianism and Prelacy, were becoming powerful as a party; and Harry Vane the younger, one of the chiefs of that sect, and one of the most adroit of men, was the negotiator at Edinburgh, charged with the settlement of the treaty. Vane induced the Scots to agree to a simple League and Covenant, "in preservation of the laws of the land and liberty of the subject." Charles sent down his commands to the Scots not to take this covenant: they humbly advised him to take it himself. The English parliament sent down 100,000*l.*, and then the Scots prepared an army to march into England. The covenant was taken in London on the 25th of September, the day on which the Earl of Essex returned to London and received a vote of thanks from parliament. From this date the original NATIONAL COVENANT of the Scots comes to be known as the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT of the two kingdoms.

Long before the parliament had settled these arrang-

* The Marquess of Hamilton had been made a Duke by Charles, at Oxford, in April of this year.

ments for calling in the Scots, the king had been labouring to bring over the Irish, and to obtain for his own service the troops which the Houses had sent to Ireland. The parliament, notwithstanding the troubles at home, had succeeded in checking that mighty insurrection, which at one moment threatened the entire expulsion of the English. Badly armed, and scarcely organized at all, the native Irish had nowhere been able to stand in a regular battle against the English army. They had been beaten from post to post; and the victors, animated by religious intolerance, and by the memory of the barbarities practised by the Papists at the commencement of the war, seldom or ever gave quarter. By a series of manœuvres Charles had prevented the Earl of Leicester, appointed lord-lieutenant with the approval of the English parliament, from going over to Ireland, and had placed the governing power, on the part of the Protestant interest there, in the hands of Ormond, a determined royalist. Ormond, who hoped, when he had restored tranquillity in Ireland, to be able to assist his master in England with men and arms, entered into negotiations with the Catholics, who by this time had been made humble and reasonable in their demands by repeated defeats. From the moment of his retiring to York, Charles had maintained an active correspondence with the confederated Irish Catholics, by means of the Lords Dillon, Taaffe, and Castlehaven, and one Cole, a doctor of the Sorbonne. Towards the end of the year 1642 the confederated Catholics at Kilkenny transmitted a petition to the king, professing great loyalty, and imploring him to appoint certain persons to hear what they had to propose and what to *offer* for his service. Ormond recommended this petition to Charles; and in January, 1643, a commission was issued to Ormond, conformably to its prayer, and in the month of March commissioners, regularly appointed by Ormond or the king, met the deputies of the Catholics at Trim, and entered upon negotiations. At this juncture, when envoys were continually passing to and from the king and the Irish, the queen arrived at York, and there, in her court, two extraordinary men,

the Scottish Earl of Montrose and the Irish Earl of Antrim, found themselves together. Antrim, an unprincipled adventurer, had alternately served the king and the insurgents. He was caught with the red hand in the province of Ulster by the Scottish general Monro, and sent a prisoner to Dublin; but he had made his escape and got over to York. Now, under the auspices of the queen, he concerted daring measures with Montrose; and it was agreed between them that Montrose should excite the royalists to take up arms in different parts of Scotland, while Antrim should go over and raise an army of Irish Catholics to make a descent upon the Scottish coast. But, in addition to this last service, Antrim undertook to bribe and debauch General Monro and his Presbyterian army, and to induce them to make a simultaneous descent upon the English coast, and then join the king against the parliament. But this scheme fell to the ground. Antrim was again seized and thrown into prison by General Monro; and Montrose, who afterwards met with different success, found the Scottish royalists timid and lukewarm. In the meantime the Marquess of Ormond had continued his negotiations with the confederated Catholics at Kilkenny, and after many impediments and delays, a truce for a year was concluded on the 15th of September, 1643.* In the month of November following Ormond shipped off five regiments to join the king. These men had been raised or commissioned by the English parliament, against which they now came to fight, but, during a bloody and demoralizing service, they had contracted the habits and feelings of mere soldiers of fortune, and Ormond had introduced into their ranks a very considerable number of native Irish. The greater part of them, landing at Chester, enrolled themselves under Lord Byron, the royalist governor of that city, whom they enabled to resume the offensive. But, about six weeks after their arrival, Sir Thomas Fairfax fell upon them at Nantwich, and completely defeated them. Two hundred were killed, and fifteen hundred threw down

* Rushworth.—Whitelock.—Clarendon.—Burnet.—Borlase.

their arms and were taken prisoners.* The effect of the manœuvres in Ireland was in all respects detrimental to the royal cause. As soon as the news of the treaty with the Papists at Kilkenny reached the Earl of Newcastle's army in the North, many of the men threw down their arms, and refused to fight any longer for the king.†

At the close of the present year, 1643, the parliament sustained a great loss in the death of Pym, who had been one of the most popular men of his day, and one of the most distinguished for ability, eloquence, and untiring activity. He died literally worn out by labour, and as poor as he was when he commenced his career. The House voted a sum of money to pay his debts and bury him honourably in Westminster Abbey.

The national synod, for the purpose of settling the government and form of worship of the church of England, met at Westminster in the month of July. The assembly consisted of one hundred and twenty-one clergymen; and, in imitation of the Scottish system, ten members of the House of Lords and twenty members of the House of Commons were joined with them as lay assessors. On the 19th of July the Assembly of Divines, styling themselves "divers ministers of Christ," delivered a petition to both houses of parliament. They said that it was evident that God's heavy wrath was lying on the nation for its sins, and that they considered it their duty, as watchmen for the good of the church and kingdom, to present certain earnest requests. The first of these was for a public and extraordinary fast: the second was, that the parliament would vouchsafe instantly to take into their most serious consideration how they might set up Christ more gloriously. They prayed for the removing of the brutish ignorance and palpable darkness possessing the greatest part of the people in all places of the kingdom. But, immediately after this, they intimated that they alone had the light proper for

* There were also taken in this battle one hundred and twenty women, many of whom had long knives, with which they are said to have done much mischief.

† Whitelock.

the dispelling of this darkness,—that they alone possessed the right of telling the people what was black and what white. They called out lustily for the persecution of the various sects classed under the general head of Independents; and for the establishment of the true Church. The church, of course, was now the Presbyterian, and these men *unchurched* all the rest of the Protestant world. Their doctrine, their discipline were perfect, their decisions infallible! Everything else was heretical and damnable. After all, the bigotry of Laud was a small matter compared to theirs; for he enlarged the bounds of salvation, while they extended in all directions the limits of eternal damnation. Yet even in this assembly the Presbyterians were not without their opponents. Some eight or ten of the members were Independents or other sectaries; about twenty were Episcopalians; and Selden and Whitelock, who were present among the twenty members of the House of Commons, who had all the same liberty with the divines to debate and give their votes, frequently resisted their gloomy doctrine and their grasping at a spiritual despotism.* The Independents, few as they were, pleaded for such a toleration as would include at least all those who held what were regarded as the doctrines of orthodox Protestantism. Even this amount of liberality sounded like horrid blasphemy in the ears of the Presbyterian majority. “Toleration,” cried one of their number, “will make the kingdom a chaos, a Babel, another Amsterdam, a Sodom, an Egypt, a Babylon. Toleration is the grand work of the devil—it is the devil’s master-piece!” The whole body of them some time later joined in a protest against what they called the great Diana of the Independents—toleration. “We de-

* The Scottish ministers and political agents were exceedingly angry with Selden’s oriental learning. Baillie says, “This man Selden is the head of the Erastians; his glory is most in Jewish learning; he avows everywhere that the Jewish church and state were all one, and so in England it must be, the parliament being the church. . . . Selden is very insolent for his oriental literature.”—*Letters*.

test and abhor," said these intolerant preachers, "this much endeavoured toleration." Even when defeated in their first attempt, the Independents insisted that, whatever the established or dominant religion might be, there should be a provision for the toleration of those who conscientiously dissented from it. Presbyterians might hold the livings and revenues which had been held by the Arminians, but the sectarians, they contended, ought to be allowed to support ministers of their own. But this, of a certainty, would not have been granted but for the rapid rise of Cromwell and the battle of Naseby.

A.D. 1644.—The king had been for some time contemplating the expediency of making a new parliament at Oxford; but he did not resolve upon this measure until he was assured that his Oxford Lords and Commons would be very submissive and altogether averse to forcing him into a treaty of peace with the Commons at Westminster.

The anti-parliament—"the mongrel parliament," as Charles himself contemptuously and ungratefully called it—met at Oxford on the 22nd of January, 1644. It consisted of the members who had deserted the parliament at Westminster, or had been disabled by it. Forty-three peers and one hundred and eighteen commoners were all that gathered round the king. According to Whitelock, the peers at Westminster were more numerous, while the commoners more than doubled those at Oxford. The king told them that he had called them together to be witnesses of his actions and privy to his good intentions; and that he hoped they would enable him to set all things right, and place the crown above the reach and malice of those who had misled the people. Four days after—on January the 26th—the Oxford parliament resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that all such subjects of Scotland as had consented to the present expedition into England had thereby denounced war against the kingdom of England; that all such of his majesty's subjects of England as did not resist the Scots should be treated as traitors and enemies to the state, &c. On the morrow the Lords and Commons at Oxford drew up a

declaration, that they were there to prevent the further effusion of Christian blood; that they and his majesty desired peace above all things: and this was accompanied by an overture for peace addressed to the Earl of Essex. The profession thus made was a mere feint. They described the parliament at Westminster as those by whom Essex was trusted. Essex told them that they must acknowledge the two Houses at Westminster as the true parliament of England, and that he could not deliver their letter. Charles then directed a letter "To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster." This address was unexceptionable, but not so were the contents. The two Houses looked upon the king's letter as an insult. A few days after, the two Westminster Houses addressed a large declaration to the kingdom, in which they denounced this Oxford proposal of a treaty as "a popish and jesuitical counsel." The Lords and Commons at Oxford issued a counter-declaration—the strongest argument in which was, that they had been threatened and coerced when at Westminster by the London populace. They also voted levies of men and money for the king, but these could only be raised in those parts of the kingdom where the royalists were indisputably the strongest. About the middle of April Charles dismissed his "mongrel parliament"—for so, as before noticed, he himself called it.

Meanwhile the fortune of war was setting strongly against the royalists. That tried soldier of fortune, old Leslie, who now rejoiced in the title of Earl of Leven, once more led a Scottish army across the borders, and advanced without opposition, or without delay, to the banks of the Tyne. Newcastle, however, was this time well fortified, and, after an ineffectual summons, old Leslie crossed the river and marched upon Sunderland. There he found himself opposed by the Earl of Newcastle, who had taken up an advantageous position. The Scot took up as good ground, resolving to remain on the defensive till the English parliamentarians of the north should form a junction with him. But the Fairfaxes were engaged elsewhere, and for some time Leslie

was obliged to lie inactive between Sunderland and Durham. But the defeat of Lord Byron with his Irish and Anglo-Irish forced Newcastle to move off towards York, which was then threatened by Lord Fairfax. Leslie followed, sorely harassed Newcastle's rear, and joined Lord Fairfax under the walls of York.

Charles was still lying at Oxford with about ten thousand men. A combined attack which was made upon that place by Essex and Waller would have fully succeeded, but for the disagreement of those two generals, which allowed the king to escape by night between the two armies, and to get to Worcester by forced marches. Essex then turned to the west, leaving Waller to pursue the king.

Fourteen thousand men had been placed by parliament under the command of the Earl of Manchester and his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell. This division, which was regarded with pride and hope by at least all the Independents, was sent northward to co-operate with Lord Fairfax and Leslie in the siege of York. The two commanders were accompanied by the sagacious Sir Henry Vane, who was then alike the bosom friend of Manchester and Cromwell. When this force arrived, York was completely invested. Newcastle drew off his army towards the west, and Prince Rupert, resolute to raise the siege, advanced from Cheshire and Lancashire in great force, and joined Newcastle. The united royalist army in the north thus amounted to upwards of twenty thousand men. The parliamentary generals and the Scots raised their siege in presence of such a force, and, on the last day of June, placed themselves in battle array on Marston Moor, about five miles to the south-west of the city. Rupert threw troops and provisions into York, and then proposed giving a general battle. Newcastle was of a different opinion, and the two royalists, as they had often done before, came to a violent altercation. In the end, the English nobleman told the proud German, that, if he would fight, it would be upon his own responsibility. The parliamentarians evidently did not expect to be brought to action—for, after staying a day on

Marston Moor, they, early on the morning of the 2nd of July, began to march off their foot and artillery and their Scottish allies towards Tadcaster; and they were in the disorder of this movement when old Leslie, in the van, received news that Rupert had fallen upon the rear that was still on the Moor. The trumpet sounded a halt along the whole line of march, and the Scots, the English foot, and the artillery turned about, endeavouring to get the best ground on the Moor, and prevent Rupert from outflanking them. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before these preludes were finished. Then the prince gave his word, "God and the king," and the other party gave theirs, "God with us;" after which they shot at one or another with their great guns, but not very fiercely or effectually. This lasted till about five o'clock, when there was a general silence through both armies, each expecting which would begin the charge. In this posture they continued a considerable time, so that it was believed there would be no action that night; but, about seven o'clock in the evening, the parliament's generals resolved to fall on, and the Earl of Manchester's foot and some of the Scots ran to the ditch or drain in their front, made their way over it, and gave a smart charge. This attack of infantry led to two grand charges of cavalry. The right wing of the parliamentarians, where Scots were mixed with English, was almost totally routed. But, at the same time, the left wing of the parliamentarians, where Cromwell charged with his excellent horse—his "Ironsides"—was completely successful. "Still both sides eagerly contended for victory; which, after an obstinate dispute, was obtained by Cromwell's brigade, the enemy's right wing being totally routed and flying, as the parliament's had done before, our horse pursuing and killing many of them in their flight."* At ten o'clock at night the victory was completed by charges of the reserves of Oliver Cromwell's brigade, backed by General David Leslie. Rupert fled headlong with his broken and disordered cavalry, his infantry threw down

* Ludlow.

their arms to run the faster, all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage fell into the hands of the parliamentarians, who followed with great slaughter to within a mile of York, and then slept on the ground on Marston Moor.

On the morrow, Prince Rupert drew off from York a few troops of horse, and galloped to Boroughbridge, where he was joined by Colonel Clavering. On the morning of the 4th of July the parliament men again sat down before York, and summoned the garrison to surrender at discretion. Articles of surrender were agreed upon on the 15th, and on the 16th the parliamentarians marched into York, and the royalists marched out of it with colours flying and drums beating.*

The battle of Marston Moor gave parliament the command of the entire north, where the Scots soon stormed the town of Newcastle. But, in the West, Essex was getting into a position which eventually led to a humiliating reverse. The lord-general, after the frustrated attempt upon the king at York, had marched through the western counties with the confident hope of reducing them all. The queen, who had just got up from her confinement in the city of Exeter, asked him for a safe-conduct to Bath or Bristol. Essex offered her a safe-conduct to London; she preferred making her way to Falmouth and sailing back to France, which she did upon Sunday the 14th of July. "Her majesty landed safely at Brest in France, and resided in that her native kingdom from henceforth, till after the restoration of the royal family."† The lord-general Essex meanwhile kept advancing into the West, ignorant of the storm that was gathering in his rear. Blake, who was afterwards to distinguish himself in a larger theatre and on a different element, was besieged by Prince Maurice in the unimportant town of Lyme Regis, which he made tenable, and put in fighting order like a ship. Maurice raised the siege on the approach of Essex, who within three weeks

* Rushworth.—Clarendon.—Ludlow.—Newcastle's Life, by his Duchess.—Coke.

† Rushworth.

occupied Taunton, Tiverton, Weymouth, and Bridport. But the king, who had given Waller the slip at Copredy bridge, and who had reinforced his army, was now in full march after him, and driving him into a corner, the narrow extremity of Cornwall,—where the fierce natives, except in the sea-ports and trading towns, were exceedingly hostile to the parliament. Prince Maurice also joined his forces to the king's, and a strong hope was entertained of destroying the whole of the parliamentary army in the West. If Essex had given the king battle on his first making his appearance, and before he was joined by the bands of west-country royalists, his chance would have been a good one; but he, on his side, expected to be joined by Middleton, perhaps by Waller, and so lay doing nothing, and allowing his men to be cooped up between Liskeard and the sea. Then Sir Richard Grenville came up with a wild force of Cornwall levies, and cut off some of the parliamentary foraging parties. Captain Edward Brett arrived with the queen's body guard, which she had left behind her when embarking for France. Other corps gathered at other points, and all supplies of forage and provisions were soon cut off. "In this posture both armies lay still without any notable action for the space of eight or ten days: when the king, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole army together, and to make his own quarters yet much nearer."* Charles therefore drew closer the toils in which he held the army of Essex; he drove them from a rising ground called Beacon-hill, and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made which shot into their quarters with a plunging fire. And then Goring was sent with the greatest part of the royal horse, and fifteen hundred foot, a little westward to St. Blaze, to drive the enemy yet closer together. The dashing, daring Goring, the bloodiest hand that waved a sword in these civil wars, executed the commission with entire success; and the parliamentarians were reduced to that small strip of

* Clarendon, Hist.

land which lies between the river of Foy, or Fowey, and that of St. Blaze, which was not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length, and which had already been eaten bare by the cavalry. At length, the state of the army being desperate, and famine staring them in the face, it was determined that Sir William Balfour should try and break through the king's lines with all the horse, and that then Essex should endeavour to embark the foot at Fowey, and escape by sea. A Frenchman, who deserted from the parliamentarians, went over by night and acquainted the king with these two desperate plans. Warning was sent to Goring and all the royal horse; and further orders were given or renewed for the breaking down the bridges, and cutting down the trees to obstruct the passage. "The effect of all this providence," says Clarendon, "was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The night grew dark and misty, as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning, the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot without so much as one musket discharged at them. At the break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance. . . . The notice and orders came to Goring, when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time." Having stayed to see the full success of Sir William Balfour's movement, which saved the most valuable part of the army, Essex fought his way to the shore near the mouth of the Fowey, and there, with his friend the Lord Roberts and with many of his officers, he embarked on board a ship and sailed away to Plymouth on the 1st of September, leaving his foot, cannon, and ammunition to the care of the gallant and faithful Skippon, who had nothing left for it but to make the best capitulation he could. The king had of

ferred good terms of surrender. On the evening of the 2nd of September the common men laid down their arms (the officers retaining their swords), delivered up their cannon and ammunition, and were conducted towards the posts of their army at Poole and Portsmouth. They had been promised the safe possession of whatever money and goods belonged to them; but before they were quit of the royalist escorts they were stripped even of their clothes.*

If Charles had remained in Cornwall he would soon have been cooped up in his turn. He preferred marching off in great triumph into Devonshire, and, after resting a short time in that plentiful country, he pushed forward for Oxford, in the hope of recovering his old quarters without a battle. But in the mean time the forces of Essex, Manchester, Waller, and Cromwell were concentrated near Newbury; and, on reaching that spot where he had been so fatally engaged the preceding year, the king, who got possession of the town, and who had many other advantages, found himself obliged to consent to a general action. On this occasion no great honour was gained by any of the parliament generals, except Oliver Cromwell. Some sharp skirmishing began on the afternoon of the 26th of October. On the morrow morning (it was a Sabbath morn) Manchester renewed the attack far more vigorously, his men going on to the charge "singing of psalms," as was usual with them. The affairs were prolonged till night, when the king, fearing that before the next morning he might be compassed round, threw his artillery into Donnington Castle, and stole away towards Oxford. As soon as his evasion was known, Cromwell proposed following him up with the whole of the horse; but this was opposed by the Earl of Manchester. Twelve days after this inde-

* Clarendon.—Rushworth.—Ludlow.—The last writer says, "The parliament soon caused them to be armed and clothed again; and, the horse having forced their way as before mentioned, the army was speedily recruited, scarce a man having taken arms on the other side."

cisive second battle of Newbury, the king was allowed to return to Donnington Castle, close above the town, and, in the face of the parliament's army, to carry off the artillery, which he had deposited in that castle.* Cromwell and his friends now began to murmur. It may, or it may not be, that this was part of a regular plan concerted long before by the Independents for getting the command of the army wholly out of the hands of the aristocracy and into their own, in order to make it the instrument for achieving a thorough revolution; but it must nevertheless be confessed that the conduct of the parliament's generals was calculated to provoke suspicions. The House of Commons was so much dissatisfied at this last business of Donnington Castle, that they ordered an inquiry; and then Cromwell exhibited a formal charge against the Earl of Manchester. That nobleman justified his conduct as a general, in a long narrative sent up to the House of Lords. He declared that he had done the best that could be done in the second battle of Newbury. "But" continued Manchester, "where the horse were that Lieutenant-General Cromwell commanded on that day, I have as yet had no certain account." But, not satisfied with this recrimination, the Earl of Manchester delivered to the Lords another paper, which was meant to consume Cromwell in the flames of Presbyterian wrath, by accusing him of a fixed design against the aristocracy and the Church of Christ.

The Earl of Essex was far more bitter against Cromwell than Manchester could be, for the latter nobleman's temper was naturally amiable and generous. The great Presbyterian general-in-chief went down to the House of Lords on the day appointed for reading Manchester's narrative. He had not been there since his return from Cornwall, but he continued to attend in his seat while this business was discussing, and at the same time he opened private consultations in his own house upon the delicate question of the expediency and safety of pro-

* Rushworth. — Whitelock. — Ludlow. — Clarendon. — Warwick.

ceeding against Cromwell as an "incendiary" between the two nations of England and Scotland. The managers of these debates at Essex House were the Scottish commissioners, Hollis, Sir John Meyrick, Sir Philip Stapleton, and other Presbyterian chiefs, who were alike anxious for the preservation of monarchic and aristocratic institutions, and for the establishment of one sole and exclusive form of worship, church government, doctrine, and discipline. Many bitter things were said against Cromwell as the enemy of Presbyterianism and the friend and champion of liberty of conscience. The Lord Chancellor of Scotland declared Oliver to be an incendiary "between the twa nations." But his great and rising power, his vast popularity in the army, and his very considerable influence in both Houses of Parliament were acknowledged, not without fear and trembling, and in the end the conclave at Essex House resolved to attempt nothing against the general for the present.*

No doubt the hatred of the Scottish commissioners, and of the Presbyterians generally, had been much sharpened by the boldness with which Cromwell had stood forward in the House of Commons in defence of religious liberty with Selden, St. John, Vane, and Whitelock.

But now, while the Scottish commissioners, and Essex, and Hollis, and the others that loved the Geneva cloak and the doctrine of exclusive salvation,—hungering at the same time with an unspiritual appetite after the possession of power, and place, and cankering riches,—were plotting at midnight, and devising all kinds of means to drive Cromwell into the toils,—that wonderful person, who had no pretension whatever either to the innocency of the dove or the meekness of the lamb, was planning, with infinitely better success, how he might break the neck of the Presbyterian oligarchy, and get the command of the army out of the hands of a set of men, who, as the majority of the nation now certainly believed, were in no haste to finish this desolating war. For some time he and his friend Sir Harry Vane had been almost constant-

* Whitelock, Memorials.

ly closeted together. Compared with either of these men, the Manchesters, the Essexes, the Hollises, were intellectually babies; and then Cromwell and Vane had the assistance of the deep, inscrutable, and most sagacious St. John. The effect of their deliberations was made manifest on the 9th of December, when (military operations having been suspended, and both armies having gone into winter quarters) the Commons went into a committee of the whole House to take into consideration the sad condition of the kingdom in reference to its grievances by the burden of the war. "There was a general silence," says Whitelock, "for a good space of time, many looking upon one another to see who would break the ice and speak first on so tender and sharp a point." At last Cromwell stood up and said, "It is now time to speak or for ever to hold the tongue: the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war hath already brought it into; so that, without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, like soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament. For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the parliament? Even this,—that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in parliament and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur. This that I speak here to our own faces is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs." He said that he would not reflect upon the private conduct or military character of any men; that he knew how difficult it was to avoid error in war; that he must acknowledge himself to have been guilty of some over-sights, but that he must recommend parliament to put the army into another method, and enable it to prosecute the war with vigour. "And I hope," he continued, "we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother-country, as no members of

either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests for the public good, nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter." Another member, whose name ought to have been preserved, followed Cromwell, very eloquently recommending an active prosecution of the war and a change of commanders. But the first that proposed expressly to exclude all members of parliament, whether of the House of Lords or House of Commons, from commands and offices, was Mr. Zouch Tate, who moved for the bringing in of the ordinance to that effect which was afterwards so celebrated under the name of the "Self-denying Ordinance." Zouch Tate was seconded by Vane, and the unexpected motion was carried. The ordinance was reported two days after, on the 11th of December, when a solemn day of fast was appointed for imploring a blessing on the intended new model of the army. The bill was read a third time on the 19th of December; and on the 21st the Commons sent it up to the Lords. There it met with many delays and much opposition. On the 30th of December the consideration of it was submitted to a committee of eight lords, four of whom were persons most interested in opposing the ordinance,—namely, the earls of Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh. This committee drew up a paper representing that the bill would deprive the peers of that honour which in all ages had been given to them. They added, that the self-denying ordinance was by no means equal in its operation to Lords and Commons, since, though some of the gentry and commons were comprehended in it as sitting members of parliament, yet the rest were left free to serve either in civil offices or in the field; whereas the ordinance would operate as a disqualification of the whole hereditary nobility of England. Upon this the Commons, who twice before had sent up urgent messages, appointed a committee to prepare reasons to satisfy their lordships; and on the 13th of January, 1645, the whole House, with the Speaker at their head, went up to the Lords about the same business. But the Lords, that same day,

finished debating, and rejected the ordinance. In the mean time the Commons went on forming the new model of the army, which they agreed should consist in the whole of 21,000 effective men,—namely, 6000 horse, 1000 dragoons, and 14,000 foot. Nor did they stop here; for, on the 21st of January, eight days after the Lords had rejected the self-denying ordinance, the Commons proceeded to nominate the chief commanders of the new-modelled army. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named general-in-chief in lieu of Essex; Skippon, who had begun by commanding the train-bands of the City of London, was made major-general; and the post of lieutenant-general was purposely and artfully left vacant. On the 28th of January, having completed the ordinance for raising and maintaining the army under the supreme command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Commons sent it up to the Lords, who, on the 4th of February, returned it passed, but not without additions and alterations. Against some of these alterations, which were calculated to give a new edge to Presbyterian intolerance, the Commons remonstrated, and they were finally given up by the Lords.

On the 24th of March the Commons resumed the debate on the self-denying ordinance, and consented to several material alterations. The bill now discharged the present officers from their commands, without disqualifying them for the future, and for ever, as was at first proposed. The measure, in short, was made to assume a temporary character, to look like an extraordinary arrangement made necessary by the extraordinary circumstances of the times. Exceptions were also voted, as in the first self-denying ordinance, in favour of the commissioners of the great seal, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, and of the revenue, who, though all members either of the Lords or Commons, were to remain in office. The bill in this state was sent to the Upper House on the 31st of March. On the 2nd of April the Lord General Essex, the Earl of Manchester, and the Earl of Denbigh, in the House of Peers, voluntarily offered to surrender their com-

missions. This offer was accepted and approved of by the House; and on the following day, the 3rd of April, the self-denying ordinance was freely passed by the Peers. Some things that immediately preceded this tardy consent of the Lords are full of significance. They were expressly calculated for the purpose of wringing consent from the aristocracy by intimidation, the Commons all the while expressing the greatest tenderness for the Lords, and declaring that they "disclaimed and abhorred" any attempt "to undermine their Lordships' privileges."

On the same third day of April, on which the Lords passed the self-denying ordinance, Sir Thomas Fairfax went from London to Windsor, which he had appointed his head-quarters, having previously, as commander-in-chief, summoned all his officers and soldiers to rendezvous there by the 7th of April. He continued at Windsor till the end of the month, diligently employed in remodelling the army. Dalbier, that soldier of fortune, who had repeatedly given timid counsel to the Earl of Essex, stood off for some time with eight troops of horse, as if balancing between Oxford and Windsor; but at last he went to the latter place and submitted to the parliament. Thus the parliament was secured;—thus "the Independents cut the grass under the Presbyterians' feet." *

Before following Fairfax to the field, we must take up certain matters which reflect disgrace on the parliament. The synod of divines still continued to sit, and to urge the high doctrines and practices of intolerance and infallibility. This synod, as we have seen, was wisely prevented by parliament from arrogating to itself any legislative or judicial authority; but if they did not of themselves send their old enemy, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a bloody grave, they certainly promoted with heart and soul that execution, which could hardly have taken place but for their vehement hatred, and unevangelical revenge. "As yet," says Sir Philip

* Warwick.

Warwick, "the Scots and Presbyterian party seem to be the ruling interest in the two Houses, and the Scotch covenant to be the idol; and in order to get this form of church service allowed by the king, Archbishop Laud must be taken out of the way." The republican Ludlow says, that it was expressly for the encouragement of the Scots, that the Lords and Commons sentenced and caused execution to be done upon William Laud, their capital enemy; but it does not appear that the Scots either were, or possibly could be, more eager for the old man's death than were the English Presbyterians.

Diseased, helpless, apparently almost friendless, the *summus pontifex* of former days might have lain forgotten in the Tower, and wound up the story of his days in that dismal place; but a dispute about church livings forced him into notice, and precipitated his end. The Lords remaining with the parliament claimed the right of nominating to the benefices that fell vacant; and still pretending to respect the archiepiscopal functions of the captive, they called upon Laud to collate the clergymen of their choice. The king commanded him not to obey the Lords; and Laud loyally bowed to this order. In the month of April, 1643, the Lords issued a peremptory order; Laud tried to excuse himself again; then the Commons received an acceptable message from the Lords to proceed with the charges already laid against him, and expedite his trial. The Commons appointed a committee, and selected Prynne to collect and prepare evidence—Prynne, who had been so barbarously treated by the prisoner, and whose soul yearned for an equally barbarous revenge. On the 23rd of October, 1643, ten new articles of impeachment were added by Prynne to the fourteen already on record. A disposition was shown to precipitate proceedings and to deprive the archbishop of the means of making his defence; but it was not until the 12th of March 1644 that the trial was really begun. Serjeant Wild opened the accusation in a speech of great length, some ability, and no charity. He charged the sick and tottering priest with all manner of tyrannies and crimes both political and religious; he charged him

with "high treason, treason in all and every part, treason in the highest pitch and altitude,"—laying upon him the blame of all the illegal proceedings in the Star Chamber, High Commission Court, and other courts. When the Serjeant had done, the fallen archbishop desired permission to speak a few words, to wipe off that dirt that had been cast upon him. These few words were, in fact, an eloquent and most skilful oration, which he delivered from a written paper he held in his hand. Seventeen whole days were spent in producing and commenting on the evidence, and then the archbishop requested that he might have liberty to make a general recapitulation of his defence before the Lords, which was granted. On the 2nd of September, 1644, Laud delivered his general recapitulation to the Lords. The proceedings in that House were extended through more than a month. On the 11th of October, Laud's counsel accordingly spoke on the point of law, maintaining that not one of the offences alleged against him, nor all those offences accumulated, amounted to that most capital crime of high treason. A few days after this, the Commons, apparently doubting the Lords, resolved to give up their impeachment as they had done in Strafford's case, and pass an ordinance of attainder. On the 2nd of November, after the second reading of this precious ordinance, the Commons brought the prisoner to the bar of their own House. There Mr. Samuel Brown, in the archbishop's presence, repeated the sum of the evidence given in before the Lords; and when Brown sat down, the Commons ordered the prisoner to make his answer *vivâ voce* and at once. This was refining in barbarity—a measure scarcely ever surpassed either in the Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission; and those courts only sentenced to fines, imprisonment, scourging, ear-cropping, and nose-slitting, while this took the life. Laud, sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, prayed that he might have some convenient time allowed him, in respect of the tedious length and weight of the charge; and the house at last, and not without difficulty, allowed him eight days. On the 11th of November,

the prisoner was brought again to the bar of the Commons, where he spoke for some hours in his own defence, and where Mr. Samuel Brown replied in his presence. Then Laud was sent back to the Tower, and (on the same day) the house passed the ordinance of attainder for high treason, with only one dissenting voice. On the 16th of November, they transmitted this bill to the House of Peers. It is quite evident, from the several attempts they made to gain time, that the Lords, though afraid of breaking with the other house, were averse to the execution; but at last—on the 4th of January 1645—they, in a very thin house, passed the bill of attainder. A pardon granted by the king was overruled and rejected; and on the morning of the 16th of January, Laud was conveyed from the Tower where he had been confined more than three years, to the block upon Tower hill. Upon the scaffold he delivered a long speech, which he had written out in the Tower, and in which he endeavoured to excuse himself from all the matters charged against him. He died with great courage and composure, and like one upheld by the conviction that he had always acted conscientiously and done all things for the best.*

The Scots, whose country had at length been made the scene of civil war by the daring Marquess of Montrose, recommended a new treaty of peace with the king; and as early as the month of November of the preceding year (1644), propositions running in the name of both kingdoms were drawn up by Johnston of Wariston. The parliament sent to Oxford for a safe-conduct for the commissioners they had appointed to carry these propositions to the king, namely, the Earl of Denbigh, the Lord Maynard, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Whitelock, and the Lord Wenman (English), and the Lord Maitland, Sir Charles Erskine, and Mr. Bartlay (Scotch). Prince Rupert sent the safe-conduct under the hand

* Rushworth.—Whitelock.—May.—Heylin.—Clarendon.—Lingard.—Laud's Troubles.—Prynne, Canterbury's Doom.—Journals.

and seal of the king, who did not notice them as members of parliament, but merely as private gentlemen. Charles or his officers most unwisely kept these noblemen and gentlemen for some hours outside the gates of Oxford in the wet and cold; and when they were admitted into the town, they were escorted like prisoners by a troop of horse, and lodged in a very mean inn.* The Earl of Denbigh read the propositions for peace. "Have you power to treat?" said Charles. The commissioners replied, "No; but we are to receive your majesty's answer in writing." "Then," replied the king, "a letter-carrier might have done as much as you." "I suppose," said the Earl of Denbigh, "your majesty looks upon us as persons of another condition than letter-carriers." "I know your condition," replied the king; "but I say that your commission gives you power to do no more than a letter-carrier might have done." In the evening the loyal Earl of Lindsay, who was sick in his bed, invited Hollis and Whitelock to visit him. These two important members of the House of Commons had not been a quarter of an hour in the earl's chamber, when the king and Prince Rupert, with several persons of prime quality, entered; and the king not only saluted them very obligingly, but also began to discourse with them. The evident intention of the king was to win over Hollis and Whitelock. He applauded them for the desire of peace which they had manifested, he flattered their vanity by asking their advice; but they saw that he had no intention of following it, and his experiment upon them completely failed. Upon this Charles made an end of the useless parade of compliment and cajolery.† On the 27th of November he sent them his reply sealed up. Hollis, and Whitelock, and the other commissioners desired to be excused from

* Rushworth says, "His majesty received them very obligingly on the next day, and gave to every one his hand to kiss, but seemed more to slight the Scots commissioners than any of the rest."

† Whitelock.—Rushworth.

receiving that answer so sealed up, requesting at least to have a copy of it. His majesty replied, "What is that to you, who are but to carry what I send? and if I will send the song of Robin Hood and Little John you must carry it!" The commissioners contented themselves with saying, that the business about which they came was of somewhat more consequence than an old song. Charles then condescended to send them a copy of his answer: but here, again, another difficulty was started. They observed, that the said answer was not directed to any body whatsoever, and that the parliament, so far from being acknowledged, was not even named in it. Charles insisted that the answer was delivered to them, the parliament's commissioners, which was sufficient; and some of his lords earnestly entreated the commissioners, for peace-sake, to receive the answer as it was sent to them. Thereupon the commissioners, considering that they must take it upon themselves to break off this treaty if they should refuse the king's paper, consented to receive the answer without any address upon it.*

On the 29th of November (1644) this singular document was produced at Westminster, and on the following day the same was read at a conference of both Houses. Great exceptions were made, and there was much debate against the form and want of direction; but at last it was carried that those objections should be laid aside, that the treaty should be proceeded with, and that thanks should be returned to the commissioners who had been at Oxford. Charles had now agreed to send the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton to London, with a fuller answer and an extended commission; but the Earl of Essex would not grant a safe-conduct to these two noblemen, unless he was acknowledged as general of the army of the parliament of England; and the Commons were resolute on the same point, insisting that his majesty should send as to "the parliament of England assembled at Westminster, and

* Whitelock.—Rushworth.

the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland." On the 5th of December Prince Rupert sent a letter with the required recognition; and at the same moment the king, to excuse himself with his wife, addressed her a letter containing these words, "As to my calling those at London a parliament, if there had been two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did nowise acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise: and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." The king's envoys, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, arrived in London on the 14th of December, and were honourably conducted to Somerset House, where they were well entertained, and allowed on the morrow—a Sunday—to hear divine service according to the Liturgy, which parliament and the synod of divines had suppressed. The two noblemen, adhering to their master's instructions, acted as secret emissaries in the city of London, and intrigued with the two factions of Presbyterians and Independents, offering the latter liberty of conscience, &c. &c. And as Richmond and Southampton were found to have no higher faculty than that of proposing the nomination of commissioners, the parliament made haste to get rid of them, being well informed as to all their doings in the city.

After many tedious preliminaries, it was agreed that the king's commissioners should meet the commissioners of the Lords and Commons at Uxbridge, within the parliamentary lines. These commissioners met on the day appointed (the 29th of January) in the little town of Uxbridge. There, on the morrow, deliberations were opened, it being agreed beforehand that everything should be set down in writing. John Thurloe, afterwards secretary to Oliver Cromwell—Thurloe, the bosom friend of Milton—acted as secretary for the English parliament, being assisted by Mr. Earle; and Mr. Cheesly acted as secretary for the commissioners of the Scottish parliament.

The first point debated was that which was sure to make the worst blood, and defeat the whole treaty,—if, indeed, there had ever been a hope or an intention to conclude a treaty. The parliament's commissioners delivered the propositions and votes of both Houses concerning the "settling of a religion in a presbyterial way;" and this matter was appointed for the debate of the three first days. Dr. Stewart, of the school of Laud, spoke very learnedly, though somewhat warmly, against any alteration of the system of episcopacy. Alexander Henderson, the champion of presbyterianism, the framer of the covenant, spoke with equal warmth against episcopacy. At length the Marquess of Hertford, wearied out with this unprofitable dispute on a point of mere speculative theology, proposed that they should leave this argument, and proceed to debate upon the particular proposals. The Earl of Pembroke agreed with the noble marquess, and the lay part of the commissioners, particularly on the king's side, would willingly have passed over this point altogether; but the parsons were of a different opinion, and Dr. Stewart desired that they might dispute syllogistically, as became scholars. "And in that way," says Rushworth, "they proceeded. . . . But the arguments on both parts were too large to be admitted to a place in this story." The parliament commissioners presented four propositions concerning religion. On none of these points would either party yield a hair's breadth; and the royal commissioners objected *in limine* that the king's conscience would never allow him to consent to these changes in religion. But there were also other articles about which Charles was equally tenacious, and the parliament equally resolute; and, after twenty days of debate and wrangling, nothing was settled, nothing made clear to both parties, except that they must again have recourse to the sword; and at the expiration of those twenty days, the term originally fixed for the duration of the negotiations, the parliament recalled their commissioners.*

* Rushworth. — Whitelock. — May. — Clarendon. — Warwick.

While the Episcopalians and Presbyterians were disputing syllogistically at Uxbridge, their respective parties had many fierce skirmishes in the field; for though the main army on either side lay inactive in winter quarters, there was no restraining the animosity of partisans, who carried on an incessant but petty warfare in most parts of the kingdom. There was a perplexing series of sieges and assaults,—night surprises and pitched battles between small troops of Roundheads and Cavaliers, men that took their instructions from no one but themselves, and that fought whenever they found an opportunity. The town, the village, was often enthusiastic in the parliament's cause, while the neighbouring castle or manor-house was just as enthusiastic for the king. At times a sortie from the castle or manor-house would disturb the burghers and yeomen at dead of night, and leave them to lament the burning of their houses and barns, the carrying off of their cattle; and then there generally followed a siege of the castle or manor-house, which, from want of artillery and military skill, would often be prolonged through tedious months, and fail at last, and be raised at the approach of Prince Rupert and his flying squadrons of horse, or of some other body of the king's army. Many of these episodes were interesting and romantic in the extreme: in some of them the high-born dames of the land, whose husbands were away following the banner of their sovereign, made good the castle walls against the parliamentary forces, and commanded from tower and barbican like brave soldiers. But we must confine ourselves to the greater operations which decided this war.

“When the spring began,” says the somewhat partial May, “the war was renewed on both sides with great heat and courage. . . . Sir Thomas Fairfax went to Windsor to his new-modelled army; a new army indeed, made up of some remainder of the old one, and other new-raised forces in the countries; an army seeming no way glorious either in the dignity of its commanders or the antiquity of soldiers. For never hardly did any army go forth to war who had less of the confidence of their own friends, or were more the objects of the contempt of

their enemies, and yet who did more bravely deceive the expectations of them both, and show how far it was possible for human conjectures to err. For in their following actions and successes they proved such excellent soldiers, that it would too much pose antiquity, among all the camps of their famed heroes, to find a parallel to this army. . . . For the usual vices of camps were here restrained; the discipline was strict; no theft, no wantonness, no oaths, nor any profane words, could escape, without the severest castigation; by which it was brought to pass that in this camp, as in a well-ordered city, passage was safe, and commerce free.”* At the opening of the campaign, however, the king, to all appearance, had many advantages over the parliament. His troops, though frequently mutinous as well as disorderly and dissolute, were well trained and tried in the field; his fortresses were very numerous; from Oxford, in the centre of the kingdom, he controlled the greater part of the midland counties; the West was almost wholly for him; he still retained some places in the North; and he was undisputed master of the principality of Wales. Fairfax’s first operation was to detach 7000 men to the relief of Taunton, where Blake, the heroic defender of Lyme, was hard pressed by the royalists. Colonel Weldon led the detachment, and at his approach the beleaguers of Taunton fled without fighting. On the other side, Prince Rupert, advancing from Worcester to join the king at Oxford, defeated Colonel Massey, who tried to bar his passage with a part of the garrison of Gloucester, drawn out at Ledbury. Upon this serious reverse the committee of both kingdoms recommended that Oliver Cromwell should be employed *pro tempore*, in spite of the self-denying ordinance, and despatched with part of the cavalry to guard the roads between Ledbury and Oxford.

Cromwell, who was at head-quarters, marched speedily from Windsor, and with great facility vanquished a part of the king’s force at Islip-bridge in Oxfordshire. A portion of the fugitives took shelter in Bletchington

* Breviary.

House. Cromwell besieged them, and forced them to surrender. Charles was so enraged against Colonel Windebank, who surrendered Bletchington House, that, in spite of prayers and remonstrances, he had him shot for cowardice. Fairfax then designed to besiege the king in Oxford; but Charles, resolving not to be cooped up in a town, marched out with ten thousand men. But on moving from Oxford, Charles was joined by Prince Rupert, as also by the forces under Prince Maurice. At first, Fairfax followed him with all the force he could get together; but soon, retracing his steps, he invested the city of Oxford, while Cromwell, leaving the army, rode off to the Eastern counties, whither it was at first suspected Charles was directing his march. The king, however, moved to the north-west, to relieve Chester. The parliamentarians raised the siege at his approach, and retreated into Lancashire. It was apprehended that Charles intended to join his army with the triumphant forces of Montrose in Scotland; and the Scottish army in England, which was then advancing to the south-east, hastily fell back upon Westmoreland and Cumberland to guard the approaches to Carlisle and the western borders. But Charles, after his success at Chester, turned round to the south-east, and soon carried the important city of Leicester by assault. This movement revived all the apprehensions about the associated counties in the East; and Fairfax, abandoning the siege of Oxford, marched into Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the 7th of June. His friend Cromwell was then in the isle of Ely, most actively organizing the militia there. At this critical moment, Fairfax and a general council of war, which he had called, requested the House of Commons to dispense again in Cromwell's case with the self-denying ordinance, and appoint him lieutenant-general, that second post in the army, which in all probability had purposely been left vacant from the beginning for Master Oliver. The House, which must have known by this time that no man so entirely possessed the confidence of the cavalry and of a great part of the army, sent him down a commission as lieutenant-general for three months; and Cromwell joined Fairfax just in time to be

present at that great battle which was to decide the important question, "what the liberties and laws of England, and what the king's power and prerogative, should hereafter be."

The king, whose head-quarters were at Daventry, was amusing himself with field-sports, and his troops were foraging and plundering in all directions, when, on the 11th of June, old Sir Marmaduke Langdale brought him news of the unexpected approach of Fairfax. The royalist outposts were concentrated and strengthened; but, on the morning of the 12th, Fairfax beat them up at Borough Hill, and spread the alarm into the very lodgings of the king. The parliamentarians, however, who were then very weak in cavalry, did not think fit to venture any further attempt, and Fairfax "propounded" that the horse of Lincolnshire, Derby, and Nottingham should be drawn that way with all convenient speed. The unexpected march of the enemy up so close to him "being in a manner a surprise," his majesty on the morrow (the 13th) thought fit to decamp, designing to march to the relief of Pontefract and Scarborough. Charles therefore fired his huts, despatched his carriages towards Harbrough, and followed after them. On the same morning of the 13th, at about six o'clock, Fairfax called a council of war, and, in the midst of their debates, to the exceeding joy of the whole army, Lieutenant-General Cromwell reached head-quarters with a choice regiment of six hundred horse raised by the associated counties of the East. Then all deliberation and hesitation was at an end, the drums beat, the trumpets sounded to horse, and the whole body of parliamentarians were drawn up under arms. Cromwell pointed the way they were to go, and presently horse and foot were in full pursuit of the king. Harrison, then a major, was sent forward to reconnoitre, and Colonel Ireton turned from the main road in order to get upon the flank of the royalists. Fairfax and Cromwell, with the main body, kept on the road to Harbrough, at which town, and at eleven o'clock at night, Charles was warned of the close pursuit by Ireton's falling upon his outposts, and giving an alarm to the

whole army. The king called a council of war. He put the question what was best to be done, seeing that the enemy was so near, and evidently bent upon battle. The council resolved to put it to a battle, taking themselves to be more strong in horse than Fairfax, and to be much better furnished with old experienced commanders.*

On Saturday, June the 14th, by three o'clock in the morning, Fairfax put himself in march from Gilling to Naseby. At five o'clock Fairfax halted close to Naseby, and shortly after several bodies of his majesty's horse showed themselves on the top of a hill in battle array. Presently columns of infantry marched into position, and Fairfax, being convinced that the royalists meant to bide the brunt, drew up and faced them on the brow of a gentle hill. His right wing, consisting of six regiments of horse, was commanded by Cromwell; the left wing, composed of five regiments of horse, a division of two hundred horse of the Association, and a party of dragoons, was, at Cromwell's request, committed to the management of the gallant Ireton, who was for that purpose made commissary-general of horse; Fairfax and Skippon took charge of the main body; and the reserves were headed by Colonels Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. In the king's army, Prince Rupert, with his brother Prince Maurice, led the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, Charles in person taking the command of the main body: the Earl of Lindsay and Sir Jacob Astley, the Lord Baird and Sir George Lisle, headed the reserves. The two armies were pretty equal as to numbers, there not being the difference of five hundred men between them. The field-word of the royalists was

* Rushworth.—According to Ludlow, the king despised "the new model," as it was called, because most of the old officers were either omitted by the parliament, or had quitted their commands in the army: and these considerations greatly encouraged him to risk the battle. Charles and his friends had not yet learned to appreciate the military genius of Cromwell, whom it was the fashion to represent as an unscientific, unmannerly brewer.

"God and Queen Mary!" that of the parliament, "God our strength!" The royalists began the battle, "marching up in good order a swift march, with abundance of alacrity, gallantry, and resolution." As in other battles, fortune at first seemed to flatter Charles, for the left wing of the parliament was worsted by the furious onslaught of Rupert. Ireton was wounded in the thigh with a pike, in the face with a halbert, and his horse being killed under him, he was made prisoner, and kept by the royalists during the greater part of the battle. Rupert, however, with his usual rashness, spurred on too far; the scattered foot rallied in his rear round their guns; and the broken horse of the left wing formed, closed, and rode up to support the centre and the right. Cromwell's charge, though gallantly met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, was brilliant and decisive: after firing at close charge, and standing to it at the sword's point, the left wing of the royalists was broken, and driven far beyond all the king's foot. There was terrible fighting after this: the unflinching Skippon was dangerously wounded, and Cromwell was several times in peril. But a tremendous charge, conducted by the parliamentarians from several points at once, completely broke up the last steady body of the king's foot. According to Clarendon, Rupert's cavalry thought they had acted their parts, and could never be brought to rally again in order, or to charge the enemy.* They stood, with the rest, spiritless and inactive, till Cromwell and Fairfax were ready to charge them with horse and foot, and to ply them with their own artillery. Despair made Charles courageous, and, placing himself among them, he cried out, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" but he could not prevail with them to stand the shock of horse, foot, and ordnance, and they presently fled in disorder, both fronts and reserves, hotly pursued by Cromwell's horse, who took many prisoners. Charles left behind him on

* The royalist historian, here as elsewhere, complains bitterly of the want of discipline in the king's army, and does something like justice to Cromwell and Fairfax, and the troops they commanded.

the field 5000 prisoners, including an immense number of officers of all ranks, besides many of his household servants. There were also taken twelve brass pieces of ordnance, two mortar pieces, eight thousand stand of arms, forty barrels of powder, all the bag and baggage, the rich pillage which the royalist soldiers had got just before at Leicester,* above one hundred colours, the king's baggage, several coaches, and his majesty's private cabinet of papers and letters, which last were a means of sealing his doom. Five days before the battle of Naseby Charles had written to tell his wife that, without being over-sanguine, he could affirm that, since this rebellion, his affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way; but this afternoon, as he fled from the fatal field, it must have been in almost utter hopelessness.†

With Cromwell's horse thundering close in his rear, he got into Leicester; but, not judging it safe to remain there, he rode off the same evening to Ashby de la Zouch; and thence passed on to Lichfield, and so by Bewdley, in Worcestershire, to Hereford. At Hereford, Prince Rupert, before any decision was taken as to what the king should do next, left his uncle, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy, which he had reason to believe would in a short time appear before it. Meanwhile Fairfax marched with his victorious army to Leicester, which was soon surrendered to him, and, leaving a garrison there, he moved westward, that he might both pursue the king and raise the siege of Taunton. The day after the battle the lord-general sent Colonel John Fiennes and his regiment up to London with the prisoners and colours taken, and with a short

* Charles had sat down before Leicester on the 30th of May, and carried the place by assault on the same day. The parliament's garrison surrendered themselves prisoners: the town experienced all the horrors of a place taken by storm; nor did the king's presence at all check the brutal profligacy of his army. The plunder carried off, and lost again at Naseby, was very considerable.

† Rushworth.—May.—Clarendon.—Warwick.—Ludlow.

letter to the speaker of the House of Commons, wherein Fairfax humbly desired that the honour of this great, never-to-be-forgotten mercy might be given to God in an extraordinary day of thanksgiving. Cromwell, on the day of the battle, wrote to the parliament, averring that this was none other but the hand of God, and that to Him alone belonged the glory. "The general," continued Cromwell, "served you with all faithfulness and honour, and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. *He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for.*"* But these letters were far inferior in interest to the epistles taken in the king's cabinet, now publicly read in London at a common hall, before a great assembly of citizens and many members of both Houses of Parliament, where leave was given to as many as pleased or knew the king's hand-writing to peruse and examine them all, in order to refute the report of those who said that the letters were counterfeit. And shortly after, a selection from them was printed and published by command of parliament. "From the reading of these letters," says May, "many discourses of the people arose. For in them appeared his transactions with the Irish rebels, and with the queen for assistance from France and the Duke of Lorraine. Many good men were sorry that the king's actions agreed no better with his words. They were vexed also that the king was so much ruled by the will of his wife as to do everything by her prescript, and that peace, war, religion, and parliament should be at her disposal. It appeared, besides, out of those letters, with what mind the king treated with the parliament at Uxbridge, and what could be hoped for by that treaty.†

* Rushworth.

† Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England.

The reading of these letters is generally considered to have been as fatal to his cause as the field of Naseby where they were taken. The royalists themselves were startled by his contemptuous ingratitude; and men who had hitherto inclined to royalty began to lose all respect for his character.

From this time nothing prospered with the king. From Hereford he proceeded to Ragland Castle, near the Wye, the seat of the Marquess of Worcester, where, strange to say, he passed days and weeks in sports and ceremonies. Fairfax did not follow him into South Wales, but marched rapidly into the west, where Taunton was relieved merely by the rumour of his approach.* When Rupert had done his best in garrisoning Bristol, he crossed the Severn to Chepstow, where he had an interview with his uncle. But Charles was now irresolute, and, instead of facing the danger in the west of England, where his partisans were still numerous and powerful, he withdrew to Cardiff, where he did nothing but press his negotiations with the Irish Catholics. Fairfax in the mean time continued his brilliant operations in the west, urged on by the spirit and guided by the military genius of Cromwell. Having dispersed an irregular force of club-men, and having defeated Goring at Langport, Fairfax appeared before the very strong and very important town of Bridgewater, which surrendered on the 23rd of July. These reverses made even Prince Rupert advise a peace. The king acknowledged that his cause was all but desperate, and that his friends must expect either to die for a good cause or to live miserably under the violence of insulting enemies; yet he told his nephew that he must not in any way condescend "to hearken after treaties." "Low as I am," he continued, "I will not go less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge."†

In the truly regal halls of Ragland Castle, and in the stately ceremonies of the court, Charles had recovered his spirit and his hopes, which now rested not merely on

* May.

† Clarendon, Hist.

the coming of troops from Ireland and troops from the continent, but also on the wonderful successes of the Marquess of Montrose. That daring adventurer, whose new-born loyalty was kept in life and heat by a deadly hatred of the covenanting Earl of Argyle, and perhaps also by some yearning after that nobleman's honours and estates, had penetrated into Scotland early in 1644, and had taken Dumfries; but finding that he could not keep his ground, and that his friend Antrim was not arriving from Ireland with his promised levies, he soon fled back into England. After the battle of Marston Moor he recrossed the border in disguise, and hid himself in the Highlands until the appearance of about 1200 Irish, whom Antrim had sent over. These wild, undisciplined, ill-armed Irish were joined by about 2000 Highlanders as wild and as badly armed as themselves; and it was with this force that Montrose took the field to restore Charles to his plenitude of power. His old enemy Argyle, now lieutenant of the kingdom, and Lord Elcho, marched against him from different points, and each with far superior forces. But Montrose had a wonderful quickness of eye, a sort of instinct for this loose kind of warfare, and his half-naked Highlanders and Irish marched and counter-marched with perplexing rapidity. He surprised Elcho at Tippermuir, in Perthshire, defeated him thoroughly, and shortly after captured the town of Perth, where the Highlanders plundered the citizens, notwithstanding their profession of affection to the royal cause. But the Highlanders got rich too fast for Montrose, and the mass of them now left his standard to return with the booty they had made to their native mountains and fastnesses, and few were left him beyond the wild Irish, who could not retreat because the Earl of Argyle had burnt the shipping which brought them over. That covenanting nobleman now approached; and, abandoning Perth as untenable, Montrose turned northward, in the expectation of being reinforced by the whole clan of the Gordons. Two thousand seven hundred men had taken post at the bridge of Dee to intercept his passage, but the northern

guerilla crossed at a ford above, fell upon their flank, defeated them, and drove them before him to Aberdeen, which unfortunate town was entered pell-mell by Highlanders, Irish, and flying Covenanters, and made the scene of slaughter, pillage, and abomination. Four years before, when Aberdeen stood for the king, and when Montrose was fighting for the Covenant, he had committed or permitted equal atrocities. But Argyle still followed, and after two or three days, the Highlanders and Irish were obliged to abandon Aberdeen as they had abandoned Perth. Montrose led them northward to the Spey; and, as Argyle still pursued, he buried his artillery in a morass, and hurriedly ascended the stream by its right bank, till he reached the mountains of Badenoch. From those rugged heights he descended again into Athol, despatched Macdonnell of the Isles to recall the Highlanders, and penetrated into the county of Forfar, where he was disappointed again in his expectation of being joined by the Gordons and other clans. He, however, deluded the Covenanters with skillful stratagems, and once more got back to the mountains of Badenoch. By this time the few Lowlanders and soldiers of fortune that had followed him were completely worn out by these incessant forced marches and counter-marches; and, taking an unceremonious farewell of him, they ran away in search of an easier life. Argyle and his Covenanters, not less fatigued, retired into winter quarters. The earl himself withdrew to his castle of Inverary, at the head of Loch Fyne, "where he hived himself securely, supposing no enemy to be within one hundred miles of him."—But when he suspected nothing less, the trembling cowherds came down from the hills, and told Argyle the enemy was within two miles of him. And this was no false alarm, for Montrose, reinforced by clans of Highlanders, had braved the winter snows and the mountain storms, and, crossing moor and morass, burning and destroying as he went, had got to the shores of Loch Fyne, and almost under the shadow of the hill on which the old castle of Inverary stood. As the Earl of Argyle had put a price upon the marquess's head, and as Mon-

trose was a man not likely to forget such a compliment, he for a moment, though no coward, as the royalists have absurdly represented him, trembled for his own head, and he only saved himself by leaping into a fishing-boat and pushing across the loch. Then Montrose, dividing his army into three irregular columns, ranged over the whole country of Argyle, and laid it utterly waste. No mercy was shown to the clansmen of the fugitive earl—slight mercy to any of the clans that had friendship or alliance with him. The villages and cottages were fired; all their cattle destroyed or driven away; and these things lasted from the 13th of December, 1644, to the end of January following. Then, departing out of Argyleshire, Montrose led his Irish and his Highlanders through Lorn, Glencoe, and Aber, to Loch Ness, in order to encounter the Earl of Seaforth, a nobleman very powerful in those parts; but, learning that Argyle had gathered forces out of the Lowlands, and joined to them such Highlanders as yet adhered to him, and had reached Innerloch, an old castle upon the bank of Lochaber, he thought fit to fight him first; and so, passing by a private unusual way, straight over the Lochaber hills, he again came upon him unawares. It was night, but on the morrow, being Candlemas day, the 2nd of February, 1645, the battle fairly began, and the prime of the Campbells charged very bravely; but when it came to dint of sword they could not stand, but retreated in disorder, and the Montrosians pursued them with great slaughter for several miles; “so that it was reckoned there were near 1500 of them slain.”* After his victory, Montrose was joined by the Gordons, and by other clans of less note. On the 3rd of April, about midnight, he set out from Dunkeld, then his head-quarters, and marched with such expedition that he was at Dundee by ten o’clock the next morning, summoning that ill-fortified town. The townspeople, knowing that a considerable force was near at hand to relieve them, made the best defence they could, but Montrose burst

* Rushworth.

into the place. His wild troops, however, had scarcely begun to plunder, when he was warned that the Covenanters were at hand ; and thereupon he ordered an instant retreat. He again made his escape to the mountains. For threescore miles together he had been either in fight or upon a forced march without provisions or any refreshment. His next appearance was at Aldern, a village near Nairne, where there was a kind of drawn game ; and a bloody game it was, for two thousand men, Highlanders and Irish—we can hardly call them royalists—and covenanters and parliamentarians, were left dead upon the spot. This was on the 4th of May, a little more than a month before the battle of Naseby. Montrose claimed the victory, and it was reported as an important one to Charles, whose spirits were greatly revived thereby.

The king had scarcely received this letter, when Montrose gained another victory. The Covenanters had been pursuing him with far superior numbers under Baillie and Urry, who committed the folly of dividing their forces and following him into the mountains.

The southern march of the Scottish army in England under Leven was not so rapid as had been expected. This Scottish army must have felt that their presence might be required for the defence of their own country. Leven, however, after reducing and garrisoning the important city of Carlisle, detached part of his forces into Lancashire, to assist Sir William Brereton ; “ but the gross of his army hovered to and fro, sometimes advancing southward, and sometimes retreating, as being, ’tis likely, apprehensive of the king’s breaking northwards to join with Montrose.” But, in the end of June, the Scots advanced to Nottingham ; by the 2nd of July, they were at Melton Mowbray, whence they pushed forward by Tamworth and Birmingham into Worcestershire and Herefordshire, effectually preventing the royalists from making any new levies in those parts. On the 22nd of July they took by storm Canon-Froom. On the 30th of July the Scots sat down before the strong or well-defended walls of Hereford. This pressed close upon the king,

who was collecting recruits in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan. Charles was thus driven into action, and he moved from Cardiff with three thousand horse in good condition, and with some hundreds of newly levied infantry. At first the king fancied he could raise the siege of Hereford, and he showed his well-appointed columns of horse in the neighbourhood; but he was presently obliged to renounce this project as hopeless, and to dismiss all his foot. He then resolved with his cavalry alone to open his way to the Scottish borders, where it is quite certain he had concerted a meeting and junction with Montrose. The brave Sir Marmaduke Langdale devised and guided the march, and the cavalry swept across the country from the Wye to the Trent, and from the Trent to the Don, without opposition. But by the order of the Earl of Leven, Sir David Leslie, with nearly the entire cavalry of the Scottish army in England, was now in full pursuit, and Poyntz and Rossiter, who commanded the English forces in the north, were advancing in another direction. Charles, who had got as far as Doncaster, halted, wavered, and then turned back, giving up his bold plan of getting to Scotland, and only hoping to be able to regain his strong quarters in the south at Oxford. As Sir David Leslie had a double object—that is, to prevent the king's reaching Scotland, and to check the successes of Montrose there—and as the latter was now the more important operation, he did not turn to pursue Charles, but rode forward towards the borders. Thus unmolested in his rear, the king fell back upon Newark. There he conceived that, by rapid marches, he might take the associated counties in the east, the country of Oliver Cromwell, which had done so much against him, by surprise, and scatter their unaided foot levies. Proceeding by Stamford, he rushed into Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, ravaging the whole open country, and taking the town of Huntingdon by assault on the 24th of August. He gave Cambridge several alarms, but then drew off and went to Woburn. From Woburn he went to Dunstable, and then crossing Buckinghamshire, he got to Oxford on the 28th of August. At Oxford, or a short

time before he got there, Charles was greeted with intelligence from Scotland. Montrose, crossing the Forth a little above Stirling, had directed his march across the narrow isthmus which separates the Frith of Forth from the Frith of Clyde, and which equally opened to him the roads to Edinburgh and to Glasgow. Baillie and the Covenanters came up with him on the 19th of August at Kilsyth, a village adjacent to the Roman wall, and not far from Stirling; but they were defeated and slaughtered in heaps, no quarter being given. The Covenanters lost all their artillery, arms, and ammunition. The Earl of Argyle and the chief nobles of that party fled by sea to England, the city of Glasgow opened its gates to the blood-red conqueror, and the magistrates of Edinburgh immediately liberated all their royalist prisoners or friends of Montrose, and sent delegates with them, beseeching his favour or mercy to the city, and promising all obedience to the king. If Charles had persevered and succeeded in his march northward,—if he had joined Montrose, as he possibly might have done, immediately after the victory of Kilsyth,—his chance, as least in Scotland, would have been wonderfully improved. But still it was but a chance, and all that could have happened, even in that case, would have been the prolonging of the war for one or two campaigns more; for whatever was the backsliding of some of the nobles, or the timidity of some of the great towns, the spirit of the Scots was unbroken, the Covenanters were as resolute as ever to maintain their solemn bond, and the Lowlanders, almost to a man, were infuriated at the atrocities committed by the wild hordes from the Highlands and from Ireland. And then, in England all opposition was falling prostrate before the energies of Cromwell and Fairfax, and, if needful, a victorious and most highly disciplined army of twenty thousand enthusiastic Englishmen would have crossed the borders within a month. But Charles, as we have seen, scoured back to Oxford, and David Leslie alone, as we shall see, was sufficient to crush Montrose. In fact, immediately after his great victory, Montrose was brought to a pause, for most of the Highland tribes that followed

him returned to their mountains to secure their plunder; and though he had overrun the country in a desultory war, the success of which was mainly owing to its suddenness and rapidity, he had acquired no fortified place, nor established any durable foundation in the lowlands. He hanged a few *incendiaries* at Glasgow; and rashly advanced southward, expecting to meet at least a reinforcement of cavalry from England. In the mean time, David Leslie, with his horse, had got to Gladsmuir, in East Lothian, his design originally being to throw himself between Montrose and the Forth; and the Earl of Leven, abandoning the siege of Hereford, was falling back towards the borders with the main body of the Scottish army. The king left Oxford on the 31st of August, and went to Hereford, which city he entered in triumph. He then proposed to cross the Severn to the assistance of Prince Rupert, who was besieged in Bristol by Fairfax; but he loitered and lost time—went again to the splendid castle of Ragland, and there received news that his nephew had surrendered Bristol on the 11th of September. Charles, in the anguish of his heart and the bitterness of his disappointment—for Rupert had assured him that he could keep Bristol for four months, and he had hardly kept it four days of siege—heaped reproaches upon his nephew, and even suspected him of treachery. He sent the prince an order to resign all his commissions and quit the country, and he ordered his arrest in case Rupert should be troublesome. Still believing Montrose to be master of all Scotland, Charles once more resolved to march into the north. He reached the neighbourhood of Chester without any reverse,* but the parliamentarians had taken the suburbs of that city; Poyntz, with another division, was advancing by a different road, and on the 23rd of September the royalists, on Rowton Heath, found themselves between two fires, being charged on one side by the troops that had taken the suburbs, and on the other by Poyntz. The result, after several remarkable vicissitudes, was the complete defeat of Charles, who

* According to Rushworth, he every minute expected the landing at Chester of forces from Ireland.

had six hundred troopers slain, and lost more than a thousand prisoners. With less than half his horse (he had no foot with him) he retreated to Denbigh, where intelligence reached him that the game was up with Montrose.

David Leslie, when on the east coast of Scotland, was informed that Montrose was advancing to the south-west, his movements apparently being in concert with those of Charles, who was advancing, on his part, by the western side of England; and the Covenanter thereupon, with all the Scottish horse, quitted the shores of the Forth and marched westward in the direction of the Solway Frith. He came up with the royalists in Selkirk forest, and this time Montrose, who had so often surprised his adversaries, was himself taken by surprise and thoroughly beaten near the village of Philiphaugh. The light-heeled partisan escaped and got back to the Highlands, but his army was utterly annihilated, and many of his friends who had not fallen in battle were executed by the Covenanters.

The person now in greatest credit and favour with the unfortunate king was the whimsical, wrong-headed Lord Digby, who had contrived to quarrel with nearly every other man about the court or camp. He was always making schemes that came to nothing, or writing secret letters that never failed to be publicly known. Now, in attempting to fight his way into Scotland with a very inconsiderable force, he was beaten in Yorkshire, and compelled to fly into Ireland. He lost his portfolio, which was taken by the parliamentarians, who soon published its contents. The principal papers were letters from an English agent in Holland to the Lord Jermyn, who was living in the very closest intimacy with King Charles's wife at Paris; letters from Ireland concerning secret negotiations between the queen and the Papists; and letters from the Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby himself, touching a treaty for bringing over the Duke of Lorraine with a foreign army to the king's assistance, and about aids to be obtained from other foreign princes and from *his holiness the pope*. These letters—and particu-

larly the parts of them which related to the queen and to the Irish Papists—greatly enraged the English people, and detached many of his adherents from the king.*

After Lord Digby's catastrophe in Yorkshire an end was put to all campaigning or fighting in the open field, though there still remained much for the parliamentarians to do in the way of siege and blockade. Revolving many schemes, and abandoning them as impracticable or dangerous, the king remained for several days at Denbigh. He then made up his mind for a movement upon the Trent, and brushing across the country he got to Newark. Despising his orders, Prince Rupert came to Belvoir Castle, ten miles short of Newark. Charles, greatly incensed, commanded him to stay where he was. But Rupert proceeded instantly to Newark, and Sir Richard Willis, who was governor of that place, and Gerrard, one of the king's principal officers, heedless of the king's commands, went out with an escort of a hundred horse to meet the prince. Without being announced, and followed by a numerous retinue all in arms, Rupert presented himself before his uncle, telling him that he was come to give an account of his surrender of Bristol, and to clear himself from unjust imputations which had been cast upon him by his majesty and the Lord Digby. Charles, greatly embarrassed, scarcely answered a syllable. Violent and indecent altercations ensued, not only between the king and his nephew, but also between his majesty and Sir Richard Willis, the governor. Most of the officers present took part with Willis, holding up his majesty's chief adviser, Digby, as a traitor, and defying the fallen kingly power by an act of mutiny. Rupert and his brother, Prince Maurice, with Sir Richard Willis, and about two hundred horse, insolently turned their backs upon Newark and the king, and rode to Belvoir Castle, whence they sent one of their company to ask from the parliament "leave and passports to go beyond the seas." The Commons readily sent them the passes, but the two princes did not yet quit England. They

* Rushworth.

were subsequently reconciled to their uncle, and shut up with him in Oxford.

But the king himself could not long remain at Newark, for the two parliamentarians, Poyntz and Rossiter, were drawing every day nearer, and believing they had so encompassed him that it would not be possible for him to get out of their hands. His evasion, however, was prepared with great skill. He travelled by night, he endured great fatigue, he had several narrow escapes; but in the end he got safely into Oxford. He, however, soon perceived that he could no longer find security even there. Cromwell was reducing in rapid succession all the royalist garrisons, and the king knew that he and Fairfax were concerting the blockade or siege of Oxford. Charles's council almost instantly proposed a negotiation.

Ever since the reading of the king's letters taken at Naseby, the parliament, or a majority of it, seems to have determined never to negotiate on the footing they had formerly done at Oxford and Uxbridge; and as it had been observed that his commissioners had always laboured to sow dissensions and carry on intrigues, a resolution had been adopted, that no more of these emissaries should be admitted. Accordingly, when Charles applied for safe-conducts for two noblemen, he met with a stern refusal. Still, however, it seemed neither decent nor safe wholly to reject terms of pacification, and the two Houses resolved to submit to him certain propositions in the form of parliamentary bills for him to give his assent to.

During these deliberations the breach between the Presbyterians and Independents became wider, and Charles fondly hoped to find a way through it to the recovery of his former power. The Scots, too, who had their army in the heart of England, and who occupied some of the most important of the garrisons, disagreed greatly with the master minds that had now taken the chief direction of affairs; they suggested numerous revises and alterations of the propositions to be offered to the king, and they seemed quite ready to throw their swords into the scale of their co-religionists, the English presbyterians. All this caused long delays, but the problem

would have been sooner solved if Cromwell and Fairfax had not deemed it expedient to finish their conquest of the west of England, and reduce the rest of the kingdom to the obedience of parliament, before commencing the siege of Oxford. The king, it appears, was, on the whole, more willing to deal with the Independents than with the Presbyterians ; but the queen, who, from France, constantly suggested plans, thought that more was to be gained from the Presbyterians ; and she and other friends, both abroad and at home, earnestly recommended him to conclude a good bargain with the Scots, to give up episcopacy, and to establish that exclusive and intolerant presbyterianism which seemed so dear not only to all his subjects north of the Tweed, but also to so large a portion of the English people. But he would never yield to this advice ; and he applied again to parliament, to be heard by his commissioners, or to have himself a personal conference with them at Westminster. This letter was presented at a most unfortunate juncture, for at that very moment the committee of both kingdoms were communicating to the two houses all the particulars of a secret treaty between the king and the Earl of Glamorgan, and between Glamorgan and the Irish papists ; and in the loud storm that then raged, the words of Charles could scarcely be heard, and his letter was thrown aside without an answer. It was found that the king had authorized Glamorgan to treat with the Catholics of Ireland, and to make them the largest promises, upon condition of their engaging to take up arms and pass over in force to the English coast. It appears, from Charles's own letters, that he never intended to keep these liberal promises ; that he meant to cheat them, or make them "cozen themselves ;" but it is quite certain that the promises were made in a solemn manner, and that, even without being read with the exaggerating optics of the reigning religious intolerance, they contained matter to put in jeopardy all the Protestants in Ireland, and to incense all the Protestants in England. Yet Charles, "on the faith of a Christian," denied to the parliament all knowledge of Glamorgan's doings ; and his partisans declared that

the warrants bearing his name, which had been found in the baggage of the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, slain in a skirmish near Sligo, were mere forgeries. After sundry deceptive tricks Glamorgan collected some five thousand men, whom he led to Waterford, in order to relieve Chester, where Lord Byron was reduced almost to extremities by the parliamentarians. By the time Glamorgan got to Waterford he received news of the proceedings at Westminster, and of the king's public disavowal of his authority, warrant, &c. But the earl knew what this meant; the king had already instructed him "to make no other account of such declarations, than to put himself in a condition to help his master, and set him free;" and Glamorgan pressed forward his preparations for shipping the troops. A much more serious check was, the unwelcome news that Chester had fallen.* Upon this intelligence Glamorgan dispersed his army; and then the king, despairing of the Irish, thought seriously of the Scots, whose dissensions with their allies, the parliament, were now assuming to him a more promising aspect than ever.

Montreuil, a French ambassador or special envoy, had now been for some time in England negotiating secretly with the Scottish commissioners in London. He had brought with him the guarantee of his court to Charles, that if the king would place himself in the hands of the Scottish army they would receive him as their natural sovereign, without violence to his conscience or his honour, protect him and his party to their utmost, and assist him with their arms in recovering his rights, he (the king) undertaking in the like manner to protect them, to respect their consciences, and so forth. The Scottish commissioners proposed that Charles should take the covenant; and they insisted as a *sine qua non*, upon the establishment of Presbyterianism. Montreuil implored the king to yield the point of episcopacy; but Charles refused to do more than promise that when he should be with the Scottish army, he would submit to be instructed by their preachers. Montreuil then posted away

* May, Brev. Hist. Parl.

to Newark, in front of which the main body of the Scots then lay. The Frenchman was disconcerted by the cold and firm tone of the officers and commissioners with the army, who would yield nothing, promise nothing, except that if the king would come to them, they would receive him with all honour, and protect his person. The king, who always considered the Scots and Presbyterians as the cause of all his misfortunes, now thought that he would rather trust the Independents, throw himself into the arms of a part of the English army, and rely upon their generous feelings and his own powers of persuasion. If he remained much longer in Oxford he must inevitably be captured, for Colonel Rainsborough was reducing Woodstock, and the armies of the parliament were approaching from all points. But Charles again turned his thoughts to the Scots, thinking that they could best do his business. He had not agreed "with regard to the Presbyterian government;" and the Scottish commissioners were, in all probability, informed that he had been, and was down to the very moment of his flight from Oxford, tampering with the Independents and promising to join them in rooting Presbytery out of the kingdom. These Scottish commissioners would have sacrificed an otherwise popular sovereign upon this sole point; but Charles was anything but popular in Scotland, where, in the parlance of the time, the blood of the slaughtered saints cried aloud for vengeance upon him. The English parliament and army might be in a frame of mind favourable to magnanimity; ever since the battle of Naseby they had been marching from success to success, from triumph to triumph: but in Scotland it was far otherwise; there that interval of time had been filled almost entirely by the victories of Montrose and the reverses of the Covenanters. The civil war, too, as conducted in England, had been all through chivalrous and merciful as compared with the unsparing carnage of Montrose's wild Highlanders and Irish. Charles, therefore, had little to hope from the humour of the Scottish commissioners; and the characteristic wariness of those men was not likely to permit their pledging themselves in a treaty or in any direct

bargain merely upon his shifting and equivocating assurances. There is not the shadow of a proof that any such treaty or bargain was ever made. At the same time the Scots were most certainly anxious to have the king in their power, being on the very verge of an open rupture with the English parliament, which stood indebted to them in large sums of money.

Montreuil the French ambassador told Charles in express terms that he could have little or nothing to hope from the Scots army; that the commissioners of that army were neither to be moved from their purpose nor to be trusted by him; and yet Charles *after this knowledge* clung to the Scots with a desperate hope, though not, as we believe, till sundry other wild schemes had entirely failed. There was now no time to lose; and, if Charles would escape the horrors of a siege certain to end in death or captivity, he must be gone at once. His son, the Prince of Wales, after being driven to Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, had fled for safety to Scilly, and thence to Jersey, being attended by Clarendon, Culpeper, and other members of the council. Even the brave Sir Ralph Hopton, now that he was ruined, created Lord Hopton, had been obliged to capitulate and disband his forces; and Sir Jacob Astley, who had collected some two thousand horse to cut his way to Oxford, was intercepted at Stowe by the parliamentarians, and made prisoner with many of his officers and more than half his men. "You have done your work, my masters," said Astley, "and may now go play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves." Wherever Cromwell showed himself resistance soon ceased; and he was now approaching with Fairfax and the army of the West upon Oxford, which was already surrounded by 2000 foot and 300 horse. Woodstock was surrendered to Rainsborough. Whichever way Charles looked, from tower or bastion, he saw the flag of the parliament of England floating on the breeze; and, now, wherever he turned himself within the loyal city of Oxford, he saw dejection or discontent. His very attendants treated him with sullen disrespect; and the chances are, that, if he had stayed there, they

would, upon the arrival of Cromwell and Fairfax, have delivered him up to the parliament. Still, however the unfortunate monarch feared and doubted the Scots. Notwithstanding the entire failure of his overtures to the Independents, he addressed himself to Ireton, who was then before Oxford; "being informed," says Ashburnham, "that he was a man of great power and credit with the soldiery, and very earnestly affected to peace, he thought it fit to make *some trial of him*, whether he would undertake to accept and protect his majesty's person upon the former conditions; and to that purpose sent Sir Edward Ford (his brother-in-law) to sound his inclinations, with this assurance,—that, if he consented, I should follow the next day with power to conclude with him in those or any new matters he should propose in order to his majesty's reception. But, by his not suffering any man to return to Oxford, his majesty found plainly that he did not relish the discourse upon that subject, and so quit the thought likewise of any more advantage by him than by the others he had tried before. . . . And now, his majesty, conceiving himself to be discharged from all obligation which by any way could be fastened upon him by his parliament, or by any authority derived from them, settled his thoughts upon his journey to the Scots army." But, according to Ashburnham, Charles told his council at Oxford that he was going to smuggle himself into London, while he had fully made up his mind to go the Scots. From other accounts, however, and from the curious, wavering way in which the king proceeded, it should appear that he was not decided whither he should go, even when he had taken to the road.

On the 27th of April Fairfax and Cromwell reached Newbury, within a day's march of Oxford: about midnight Charles got ready for his flight, submitting his beard to Ashburnham's scissors, and disguising himself as that groom of the chamber's groom. Hudson, the chaplain who had gone and come between the headquarters of the Scots and Oxford, and who was, moreover, well acquainted with the bye-roads of the country,

acted as guide; and between two and three o'clock in the morning the party rode out of Oxford by Magdalen Bridge, the king following Ashburnham, as grooms follow their masters, with a cloak strapped round his waist. At the same moment, parties like the royal one, of three individuals each, went out of Oxford by the other gates, in order to distract attention and embarrass pursuit. Charles and his two companions got through the lines of the parliamentarians, and reached Henley-upon-Thames without discovery. From Henley, instead of turning directly north towards the Scots, they proceeded to Slough: from Slough again they went to Uxbridge, and from Uxbridge to Hillingdon, a mile and a half nearer London. "Here," according to Hudson, "the king was much perplexed what course to resolve upon—London or northward." After a halt he rode across the country to Harrow, from whose pleasant hill his good steed might have carried him into the heart of London within an hour. But he turned off thence northward towards St. Alban's. From St. Alban's they made another circuit, and, by cross-roads, they got to Downham, in Norfolk.* Here Charles lay hid for four days, awaiting the return of Hudson, who had been sent forward to the lodging of Montreuil, at Southwell, near Newark, with a little note from the king to that ambassador, desiring him to make an absolute conclusion with the Scots, and to tell them (or so says Hudson) that, if they would offer "such honourable conditions for him as should satisfy him, then he would come to them; if not, he was resolved to dispose otherwise of himself." Hudson himself continues:—"I came to Southwell next morning, and acquainted the French agent with these particulars, who, on Thursday night (30th of April), told me they would condescend to all the demands which the king and Montreuil had agreed to make to them before Montreuil came from Oxford (of which Montreuil told me the sum), *but would not give anything under their hands*. I desired, to avoid

* "The king," says Clarendon, "wasted his time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of)."—*Hist.*

mistakes, that the particulars might be set down in writing, lest I should afterwards be charged with making a false relation, and so he (Montreuil) set the propositions down in writing:—1. That they should receive the king on his personal honour. 2. That they should press the king to do nothing contrary to his conscience. 3. That Mr. Ashburnham and I should be protected. 4. That, if the parliament refused, upon a message from the king, to restore the king to his rights and prerogatives, they should declare for the king, and take all the king's friends under their protection; and if the parliament did condescend to restore the king, then the Scots should be a means that not above four of them (the king's friends) should suffer banishment, and none at all death. This done, the French agent brought me word that the Scots seriously protested the performance of all these, and sent a little note to the king to accept of them, and such security as was given to him in the king's behalf."

This, be it remembered, is simply the statement of Hudson, a most enthusiastic royalist, who had thrown aside Bible and cassock for sword and breast-plate, and who delivered this confession to the parliament of England at a moment when that body was prepared to receive any evil impressions against the Scots, and when the royalists were still hoping to profit by the jealousies and dissensions existing between the English Commons and the Scottish commissioners. But, even taking Hudson's words for all these particulars, what does this story amount to? Simply to this—that Montreuil told him such and such things, and that the Scots told him nothing. The assurance was not given under the hands of the Scottish commissioners—even according to Hudson, they absolutely refused to give anything of the kind—but it was given, as he says, *by Montreuil*, who committed the particulars, or "set the propositions down, in writing." But even this paper of Montreuil's, so important if true, has nowhere been preserved, while great care has been taken of documents relating to this negotiation of far less consequence. A doubt, therefore, may be fairly entertained whether Montreuil ever really wrote any such

paper ; and in no part of his correspondence with his own court does he ever pretend to have received any such formal agreement. But again, was Charles so inexperienced and single-minded a person as to pin his faith to or rely upon such a document as this which Hudson says he received from the French envoy ? Clarendon, nearly always a prejudiced authority, has been quoted as proving that a formal engagement was made by Montreuil with the Scottish commissioners ; but, if such an engagement had ever been made, Clarendon himself shows that Charles placed no confidence in that engagement ; for he tells us that the king lurked about the country “ purposely to be informed of the condition of the Marquess of Montrose, and to find some secure passage that he might get to him.” The fact appears to be, that Charles diverged from the northern route and went into the eastern counties on purpose to find some vessel on that coast wherein to escape to Scotland, and that he was deterred from the voyage by the risk and danger of trusting himself to that element on which the parliament of England rode triumphantly as masters. A frail vessel, one or two great shot, or a storm, might have terminated the career of this unhappy prince without the closing scenes at Whitehall. A man who had lived in the midst of perils, and had through many a year faced them all, and revelled in them, was appalled by somewhat similar dangers, and preferred surrendering himself to his oldest or greatest enemies ; and, just as Napoleon went on board the *Bellerophon*, did Charles go to the Scottish camp—because he could go nowhere else—because every other possible way of proceeding seemed infinitely more dangerous.

Hudson, continuing his report, says, “ I came to the king on Tuesday, and related all, and he resolved next morning to go to them ; and so upon Tuesday morning we all came to Southwell to Montreuil’s lodgings, where some of the Scots commissioners came to the king, and desired him to march to Kelham for security, whither we went after dinner.” This happened on the 5th of May. “ Many lords,” says Ashburnham, “ came instantly to

wait on his majesty with professions of joy to find that he had so far honoured their army as to think it worthy his presence after so long an opposition." On this point, as on others, there are discrepancies between the account given by Ashburnham and the narrative of Clarendon. The latter goes on to say, "The great care in the (Scottish) army was, that there might be only respect and good manners showed towards the king, without anything of affection or dependence; and therefore the general never asked the word of him, or any orders, nor willingly suffered the officers of the army to resort to, or to have any discourse with, his majesty." And once, it appears, when the king ventured to give the word to the guard, old Leslie, or Leven, interrupted him, saying, "I am the older soldier, Sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me."

In the mean time the king's motions were kept so secret that none could guess whither he was gone; but it was generally reported that he was gone for London, and Fairfax, who had now drawn up his army before Oxford, sent notice to that effect to the two Houses, who, on Monday, May the 4th, only the day before Charles reached the Scottish camp, caused an order to be published by beat of drum and sound of trumpet throughout London and Westminster, to this effect:—"That it be, and is hereby declared by the Lords and Commons in parliament assembled, that what person soever shall harbour and conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the king's person, and shall not reveal it immediately to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a traitor to the commonwealth, forfeit his whole estate, and die without mercy." Two days after this—that is, on the 6th of May—the two Houses received intelligence of the king's being in the Scots army by means of letters from Colonel Poyntz, and from their commissioners before Newark. The Commons hereupon voted: "1. That the commissioners and general of the Scots army be desired that his majesty's person be disposed of as both Houses shall desire and direct. 2. That his majesty be thence disposed of and

sent to Warwick Castle. 3. That Mr. Ashburnham and the rest of those that came with the king into the Scots quarters should be sent for as delinquents by the serjeant-at-arms attending the said House, or his deputy ; and that the commissioners for the parliament of England residing before Newark should acquaint the Scots general with these votes, and also make a narrative of the manner of the king's coming into the Scots army, and present it to the House." While the Houses were thus voting, old Leslie and the Scottish commissioners were employed in writing a very devout letter of explanation to the English parliament. "The king," they said, "came into our army yesterday in so private a way that, after we had made search for him, upon the surmises of some persons who pretended to know his face, yet we could not find him out in sundry houses." They declared that they never expected he would have come to them, or into any place under their power. Next they said—"We conceived it not fit to inquire into the causes that persuaded him to come hither, but to endeavour that his being here might be improved to the best advantage, for promoting the work of uniformity, for settling of religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace according to the league and covenant and treaty, by the advice of the parliaments of both kingdoms, or their commissioners authorised for that effect. 'Trusting to our integrity, we do persuade ourselves that none will so far misconstrue us as that we intended to make use of this seeming advantage for promoting any other ends than are expressed in the covenant, and have been hitherto pursued by us with no less conscience than care. And yet, for further satisfaction, we do ingenuously declare that there hath been no treaty nor capitulation betwixt his majesty and us, nor any in our names, and that we leave the ways and means of peace unto the power and wisdom of the parliaments of both kingdoms." They appealed to Heaven as a witness of their good faith and of their honest and single desire to advance the public good and common happiness of both kingdoms. They said they had written to the committee of estates of Scotland upon the great business of

the king's going among them; and that they at last hoped, after a seed-time of many afflictions, to reap the sweet fruits of truth and peace.*

On the same day on which this letter was written, Charles ordered the Lord Bellasis, the new governor of Newark, to surrender that important place; and, also on the same day, Newark, with the castle, forts, and sconces thereunto belonging, was surrendered to the committee of both kingdoms, for the use of the parliament of England. Charles had offered to surrender the place to the Scots, which would have made a fresh garboil, but Leven told him that, to remove all jealousies, it must be yielded to the parliament of England. Clarendon says that Charles's readiness on this occasion proceeded from his fear that Fairfax might be ordered to relinquish all other enterprises, "and to bring himself near the Scottish army, they being too near together already." It is said, indeed, that the English Commons at one moment entertained the notion of throwing forward Oliver Cromwell with the entire mass of their cavalry, in order to fall upon the Scots by surprise, and to take the king away from them by force; but in effect they only detached Poyntz, who, with a party of horse and dragoons, followed the Scots, and watched them on their march northward from the Trent.

Newcastle was now the seat of the war, for "wars are not only carried on by swords and guns, but tongues and pens are co-instrumental; which, as they had been too much employed formerly, were not idle now."† The king sounded some of the officers of the Scottish army, and offered David Leslie, the general of the horse, the title of Earl of Orkney, if he would consent to espouse his cause and unite with Montrose; but this project, considering the temper of that covenanting soldiery, must

* Rushworth.—This letter is dated "Southwell, May the 6th, 1646," and signed "Leven, Dunfermling, Lothian, Belcarris, S. D., Hume, Sir T. H. Carre, R. of Freeland, W. Glendowyn, John Johnston."

† The Perfect Politician, or a Full View of the Life and Actions (Military and Civil) of Oliver Cromwell.

always have been a hopeless one, and it came to nothing. The committee of estates at Edinburgh, the champions of the covenant, despatched Lanark, Loudon, and Argyle, to Newcastle, to look after both the king and the army; and these noblemen, after telling Charles in the plainest manner that he must take the covenant, or expect no important service from them,—that he must not imagine that they would temporise with this great measure, or be put off with promises,—required of him, in the first instance, to do all that in him lay to put an end to the civil war in Scotland by ceasing all connexion or correspondence with Montrose. And at their instance he sent a positive order to the hero of Kilsyth to disband his forces and retire to France.

About the same time, the king sent a very soft message to the two Houses, stating, that, “being informed that their armies were marching so fast up to Oxford as made that no fit place for treating, he did resolve to withdraw himself hither, only to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this war any longer, or make any division between his two kingdoms. “And,” continued this practised dissembler, who now spoke as if he had made up his mind to give up the question of episcopacy, “since the settling of religion ought to be the chiefest care, his majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two Houses of Parliament, all the ways and means possible for speedily finishing this pious and necessary work; and particularly that they take the advice of the divines of both kingdoms assembled at Westminster.” As for the militia of England, his majesty was well pleased to have it settled as was offered in the treaty at Uxbridge. Concerning the wars in Ireland, and every other point whatsoever, he promised to comply with his parliament. About three weeks later, on the 10th of June, he sent another message to the two Houses, expressing his earnest desire for the ending of this unnatural war, and requesting that he might be permitted to come to London with safety, freedom, and honour. And on the same day he signed a warrant to the governors of Oxford, Lichfield, Worcester, and Wallingford, and to

all other commanders of towns, or castles, or forts, to surrender upon honourable terms. Most of these few places, however, had surrendered already. Even Oxford had proposed to treat as early as the 17th of May, which was one day before the king's first message to parliament. The Commons, however, considered the terms demanded as much too high, and so ordered Fairfax to prosecute the siege; and the place did not surrender until the 24th of June, when very liberal terms were granted by the parliamentarians. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice received their passports and took shipping at Dover. Charles's second son, James the young duke of York, was brought up from Oxford to St. James's palace. Ragland Castle was stoutly defended by the Marquess of Worcester. But at last, on the 19th of August, Ragland was surrendered. In the same month of August the town of Conway was taken by storm; the strong castle of Conway surrendered in a few days after, as did also Flint Castle, and all other places in Wales.

Meanwhile the Scots at Newcastle were labouring hard to make the king take their Covenant. Charles thought that he might take it with a mental reservation, but having some scruples, or wishing for the countenance of a leading churchman, he sent "a case of conscience" to Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London. After declaring that no persuasions and threatenings should make him change episcopal into Presbyterian government, the king said to the bishop—"But I hold myself obliged by all honest means, to eschew the mischief of this too visible storm, and I think some kind of compliance with the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my case is, which at another time were unlawful. . . . I conceive the question to be whether I may with a safe conscience give way to this proposed temporary compliance, with a resolution to recover and maintain that doctrine and discipline wherein I have been bred. The duty of my oath is herein chiefly to be considered; I flattering myself that this way I better comply with it, than being constant to a flat denial, considering how unable I am by force to obtain that which this way there wants not probability to recover,

if accepted (otherwise there is no harm done) ; for, my regal authority once settled, I make no question of recovering episcopal government, and God is my witness my chiefest end in regaining my power is to do the church service.”*

It has been judged, from the fact of Charles's not pursuing the line of conduct so ingeniously hinted at, and also from the honest straightforward character of Juxon, that the bishop's answer, which has not been preserved, was frank and honest, like that which he had given when consulted about the execution of the Earl of Strafford. The king, however, listened or pretended to listen to the arguments of the Presbyterian divines and teachers, and appeared to have dropped all projects of hostility, and to agree with every desire that was expressed. But at the same time he managed to continue his secret correspondence with the papists in Ireland, and others, devising the most desperate if not the most ridiculous plans for resuming hostilities by means of the papists and of French armies to be brought over to England. We cannot possibly mention half the wild schemes that were entertained at Newcastle and at Paris, between the going of Charles to the Scots' quarters and his delivery over to the English ; but one of the most striking of them was, that Montrose, whom the king had ordered to lay down his arms, should be recalled to head a fresh insurrection in the Highlands, and take the command of fresh hordes from Ireland.

On the 23rd of July the final propositions of parliament were presented to Charles at Newcastle by the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Denbigh, and the Lord Montague of the peers, and six members of the House of Commons ; the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland being present and consenting to them. “ The Lords and Commons, commissioners of the parliament of England,” says May, “ stayed long with the king at Newcastle, humbly entreating him that he would vouchsafe to sign and establish those propositions, being not

* Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.

much higher than those which had been offered to his majesty at Uxbridge when the chance of war was yet doubtful. The same thing did the commissioners of the parliament in Scotland humbly entreat. But daily he seemed to take exception at some particulars, whereby time was delayed for some months, and the affairs of both kingdoms much retarded, which happened at an unseasonable time, when not only dissensions between the two nations about garrisons, money, and other things, were justly feared, but also, in the parliament of England and city of London, *the divisions were then increasing between the two factions of the Presbyterians and the Independents*, from whence the common enemy began to swell with hopes not improbable. *And this, perchance, was the cause of the king's delay.*" *

Many men that did not love the king personally, but that loved monarchy, implored him to accept the propositions as the only means of saving the throne. Others used prayers, mingled with threats. The Earls of Argyll and Loudon besought him on their knees, but all in vain. Then Loudon, now Chancellor of Scotland, told him that his assent to the propositions was indispensable for the preservation of his crown and kingdoms,—that the danger and loss of a refusal would be remediless, and bring on a sudden ruin and destruction of the monarchy. The noble Scot continued with increasing energy:—"The differences betwixt your majesty and parliament (known to no man better than yourself) are at this time so high that (after so many bloody battles) no composure can be made, nor a more certain ruin avoided, without a present pacification. The parliament are in possession of your navy, of all the towns, castles, and forts of England; they enjoy, besides, sequestrations and your revenue." But Charles would not sign, and he was as deaf to the gentler representations of others as to the rough eloquence of Loudon.†

On the same day that the parliament Commissioners

* Brev. Hist. Parl. † May, Breviary.—Rushworth.

arrived at Newcastle, there came a new ambassador from France to implore the king to accept the propositions, and to present to him letters from the queen, who prayed to the same effect. Edinburgh and other Scottish cities sent tender petitions to his majesty imploring him to take the covenant, and save himself and his royal progeny; but all was of no avail. After receiving several communications from their commissioners, parliament gave their thanks to those noblemen and gentlemen, and appointed a committee to give the same thanks to the Scottish commissioners who had acted with them at Newcastle. In the course of this debate in the House, a Presbyterian member exclaimed, "What will become of us now that the king has refused our propositions?" "What would have become of *us* if he had accepted them?" rejoined one of the Independents.

On the 19th of May, without any settlement of the heavy pecuniary claims the Scots had upon them, the House of Commons had voted that England had no longer any need of the Scottish army. The Scots on their side reminded the English of how much they and the cause of liberty had owed to their well-timed assistance; and they called aloud for a settlement of accounts, the parliament having agreed to subsidize them previously to this their second coming into England. King or no king in their hands, the Scots would have claimed their money; but it is possible that, without that security, the payment would have been neither so prompt nor so liberal. The pride of the Scots was incessantly irritated, but their prudence was stronger than their pride. On the 12th of August their commissioners in London presented a spirited paper to the English House of Lords, demanding immediate payment, or an instalment with security for the remainder. The Lords communicated this paper to the Commons, who, taking the same into consideration, ordered that the sum of 100,000*l.* should be provided forthwith for the Scottish army, and appointed a committee to audit and settle the whole money account. The Scots demanded 600,000*l.*; but after some debate, their commissioners agreed to take

400,000*l.*, of which one-half was to be paid before the army left England or gave up the places they garrisoned. This bargain was fully concluded four months before the Scots delivered up Charles.

On the 11th of December, the Scottish parliament voted that the kingdom of Scotland could not lawfully engage on the king's side even if he were deposed in England, seeing that he would not take the Covenant, or give any satisfactory answer to the propositions tendered to him for peace. Furthermore, that parliament declared that Charles should not be permitted to come into Scotland, or that, if he came, his royal functions should be suspended. Seeing that all the hopes he had built on the Scotch foundation were annihilated, the king would have flown from the Presbyterian army. But flight was no longer possible. On the 20th of December the king wrote to the parliament of England, to ask again for a personal treaty. The two Houses took no notice of this message. On Christmas-day, after long debates, the Lords agreed with the Commons that the king should be brought to Holmby house, in Northampton.

The Scots had now fully made up their minds to deliver Charles to the parliament; yet, on the 14th of January (1647), they made one effort more to induce him to take their Covenant and accede to the propositions. Charles refused to do so, and again asked permission to go into Scotland with honour and freedom. This was decisive; and, two days after—on the 16th of January 1647—the parliament of Scotland gave their full consent for delivering up the king.

In the mean time the English parliament had declared episcopacy for ever abolished; and, by putting to sale the bishops' lands, money had been obtained to satisfy the claims of the Scots army. On the 21st of January the Scots signed at Northallerton a receipt for 200,000*l.* in hard cash. On the 30th the commissioners of the English parliament,—the Earl of Pembroke with two other Lords and six Commoners,—received from the Scotch commissioners at Newcastle the person of the king, the Scots troops evacuating that town on the same

day. Charles affected to be pleased with the change : he talked courteously, and even cheerfully, to the Earl of Pembroke and the other commissioners, telling them he was well pleased to part from the Scots.*

While the Scottish army was recrossing the borders, the king journeyed by easy stages towards Holmby house, a stately mansion in a pleasant country, but at no great distance from the fatal field of Naseby. He reached the mansion on the 16th of February, and found his lodging and table and little court well furnished with everything except chaplains. In vain he petitioned to have chaplains of the Anglican church. The dominant Presbyterians sent him chaplains of *their* church. He seemed to bear his misfortunes with a sort of cheerful dignity. He passed his time in reading, playing chess, walking, riding, and playing at bowls.

At this time it was rather the head of Oliver Cromwell than that of King Charles that seemed in imminent danger. The elections which had been recently made to fill up vacancies in the House of Commons had gone generally in favour of the Presbyterians, while not a few thorough-going royalists had found seats and friends in that house. Triumphant in their strength, the Presbyterians had proclaimed the establishment of their own form of worship to the exclusion of all others, and they had laboured, and were still labouring, to crush the many sects included under the general term of Independents. They had even resolved to disband the victorious army and to create a new one on a Presbyterian model. The Independents in the House of Commons,—the Vanes, the Martins, the St. Johns,—yielded to the storm so long as it was necessary, holding themselves ever ready to profit by the blunders of their bigoted adversaries. One of these blunders was the haste of the Presbyterians in getting their brethren, the Scots, out of England.

A.D. 1647.—In the month of February it was resolved by parliament to dismiss nearly the whole of the existing

* Herbert, Memoirs.

army, to retain Sir Thomas Fairfax as Commander-in-chief, to allow no other officer to have a rank higher than that of Colonel, and to exact from all officers an oath to the covenant and to the government of the church as by ordinance established. Some of these votes were aimed directly at Oliver Cromwell; but they would also have excluded Ludlow, Blake, Ireton, Skippon, Algernon Sidney, and others. It was at this crisis that Ireton married the eldest daughter of Cromwell. The Hollises, the Stapletons, and the other leaders of the Presbyterians, ordered that a large part of Fairfax's forces should forthwith be shipped for Ireland; and they did this without paying or even talking of paying the heavy arrears that were due to the soldiers. The men vowed that they would not go without their old officers—that they would not be put under new and untried officers—that they would not go to die, far from their homes, of famine and disease. And forthwith the army, which was lying in and round Nottingham, broke up from their cantonments, and marched upon London.

Then the Presbyterians in a panic voted an assessment for paying the troops. On the following day—the 17th of March—a petition was presented from the Common Council and Presbyterians of the city of London, praying that the army might be removed to a greater distance from the capital; complaining bitterly of a petition set on foot in the City by the Independents, and calling for the punishment of the authors and promoters of it. This petition of the Independents was in all respects a remarkable document,—the first or the loudest call that had yet been made upon republican principles. The Presbyterian majority in the House, recovering somewhat from their panic, voted that this Independent petition should be condemned, and that the army should not come within twenty-five miles of London. A deputation was sent down to Saffron Walden to treat with Fairfax and the officers. On the day after their arrival at head quarters Fairfax summoned a convention of officers; and these officers plainly told the parliament commissioners that they had been ill-used, and would

not submit to it; that he must have payment of the arrears already due, and some indemnity for their past sacrifices and services. In reporting their doings, or their non-doings, to the Commons, the commissioners mentioned a petition in progress in the army. In these stormy times late debates had become common. This night the House sat very late, and, "being grown thin with long sitting," the Presbyterians voted the petition of the army, which they had not seen, to be an improper petition; and further, that those of the army who continued in their distempered condition, and went on in advancing and promoting the petition, should be proceeded against as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace. On the morrow the Lords voted their adherence to the resolution. Fairfax remonstrated in a mild manner, but the army complained of the injustice of not being allowed to petition while the petitions against them were not suppressed, and the horse talked of drawing to a rendezvous to compose something for their vindication. On the 15th of April a deputation from the two Houses again conferred with the army at Saffron Walden. Colonel Lambert, in the name of the rest, desired to know what satisfaction the parliament had given to the queries they had put at their last meeting with the deputation. Sir John Clotworthy assured Lambert that, in Ireland, they should all be under the command of the popular Major-General Skippon; but then he added the unpopular name of the Presbyterian Massey. Colonel Hammond declared, that if they had good assurance that Skippon would go, he doubted not but a great part of the army would engage. To this the officers cried out, "All, all!" but others shouted still louder, "Fairfax and Cromwell—give us Fairfax and Cromwell, and we all go." After a vain attempt to gain over volunteers, the deputation returned in dismay to London. The question was adjourned from the 23rd to the 27th of April. On that day Hollis urged on his party to vote that the whole army, horse and foot, should be disbanded with all convenient speed, and six weeks' pay given upon their disbanding, and

that four of the officers should be summoned by the serjeant-at-arms to attend at the bar of the House. On this very day some of the officers of that army presented an energetic petition to the Commons. This paper, which was a vindication of their conduct rather than a petition, was signed by Thomas Hammond, lieutenant-general of the ordnance, fourteen colonels and lieutenant-colonels, six majors, and one hundred and thirty captains, lieutenants, and other commissioned officers. "The misrepresentation of us and our harmless intentions to this honourable House," said these citizen-soldiers, "occasioning hard thoughts and expressions of your displeasure against us, we cannot but look upon as an act of most sad importance." After insisting on their right of petitioning, they said, "We hope, by being soldiers, we have not lost the capacity of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interests in the commonwealth; that in purchasing the freedom of our brethren we have not lost our own." They energetically justified their demands for money. "For the desire of our arrears," said they, "*necessity*, especially of our soldiers, enforced us thereunto. That we have not been mercenary, or proposed gain as our end, the speedy ending of a languishing war will testify for us, whereby the people are much eased of their taxes and daily disbursements, and decayed trade restored to a full and flourishing condition in all quarters." * But before this time an entire disaffection to the Presbyterian majority had declared itself among the common soldiers; and, irritated by the late disbanding vote, and by the House not taking this petition of the officers into immediate consideration, rank and file, troopers, dragoons, and infantry drew closer their recently-formed compact, and prepared a document of their own for the perusal of the House. They here described "a model of a military common-council, who should assemble two commissioned officers and two private soldiers out of every regiment, to consult for the good of the army,

* Rushworth.

and to be called by the name of Adjutators.”* From this council or conclave the superior officers stood aloof; but Berry, a captain in Fairfax’s regiment of horse, and an old and bosom-friend of Cromwell, became president of it, whence it has been generally concluded by historians that the whole affair, if not originally got up by Cromwell, was guided and directed by him.† On the 30th of April these adjutators, whose name was soon changed into that of *agitators*, sent three troopers—Sexby, Allen, and Shepherd—to present their first manifesto to the Commons, and tell them they “sought to become masters, and were degenerating into tyrants.” Cromwell, who a few weeks before was given to believe that the Presbyterians intended to seize him and commit him to the Tower,—a plan which appears really to have been entertained at several distinct times,—rose up and spoke at great length about the danger of driving the army to extremities, and about the pure and entire loyalty of that meritorious body; and, strange and unaccountable as it is, it is certain that the House forthwith commissioned him, with Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood to repair to head-quarters, and quiet the distempers of the army by assuring them that the House had appointed an ordinance to be speedily brought in for their indemnity, payment of arrears, &c. Cromwell, and those who had been appointed with him, presented themselves to the army on the 7th of May. The officers required time to confer with their regiments, and a second meeting took place on the 15th. Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood encouraged the discontents, and Skippon at last decided in favour of the proposition presented by Lambert, that the redress of

* The Perfect Politician.

† Two other officers, said to have had great influence with the adjutators, were Ayres and Desborough. They were both old friends of Cromwell,—they both took service with him when he first raised a troop of horse at his own expense,—and Desborough, six years before, had married a sister of Cromwell.

the grievances of the army should have precedence of all other questions. But disagreements broke out among the soldiery, some of whom would have closed with the offers of parliament; and, emboldened by these symptoms of division, the Presbyterian leaders, after hearing the report of Cromwell, who had returned from the camp to the House, passed a resolution, that immediate measures should be taken for auditing the accounts of the soldiers, and disbanding the regiments. This was on the 21st of May. On the next day Fairfax, who had been in London under a real or pretended sickness, returned to the army by the desire of the House of Commons, and on the morrow he removed the mass of that army from Saffron Walden to Bury St. Edmund's. Fairfax found the soldiers resolute not to disband without previous redress and payment, and the punishment of those who, as they said, had contrived their destruction; and they called for a rendezvous, telling their officers that, if they would not grant it, they would hold it without them. Fairfax reported all this to the house. On the 28th of May, the Presbyterians appointed the Earl of Warwick and five other members of the house to be a committee to act with the general (Fairfax) in executing the disbanding vote. Fairfax told this deputation that he could venture to do nothing of the sort for the present.

The crisis was now hurried on. The Lords voted that the king should be brought from Holmby to Oatlands near the capital, and that a fresh treaty should be opened with him. The army and the Independents, who were almost one, resolved to forestall the Lords and the Presbyterians. On the 3rd of June, a little after midnight, a strong party of horse, commanded by Joyce, a cornet in Whalley's regiment, presented themselves at Holmby house. Joyce dismounted, and demanded to be admitted, telling Colonels Graves and Brown, who commanded the small garrison there, that he came to speak with the king. They asked him from whom? "From myself," said Joyce; at which they laughed. "This is no laughing matter," said the cornet of horse. Colonel

Graves commanded the soldiers in the house to stand to their arms; but, instead of obeying, the men threw open the gates, and bade their old comrades welcome. Joyce then proceeded to the chamber where the parliament commissioners lay, and told them that there was a secret design to steal away the king and raise another army; that there was no other means of keeping the kingdom from blood and another war but by the army making sure of the king's person. All the rest of that night and the whole of the following day Joyce remained quiet in Holmby house, without intruding himself into the king's chamber. But the mansion was well watched and guarded both within and without; and there was not a soldier there but was an Independent or a worshipper of Cromwell. At 10 o'clock of the night after his arrival the cornet demanded and obtained an audience. He told the king that dangerous plots were afoot, that his majesty must be placed in better keeping, that now matters were come to this,—the Presbyterians must sink the Independents or the Independents sink them. After some conversation, in which Charles exacted from Joyce promises that his life should be safe in his hands, that his conscience should not be forced, and that some of his attendants should be allowed to accompany him, it was agreed that the removal should be made quietly on the following morning. At six o'clock in the morning the king appeared booted for the journey. He, however, seemed to hesitate; and he asked Joyce what commission he had to secure his person?—whether he had nothing in writing from Sir Thomas Fairfax his general? The cornet desired the king not to ask him such questions, which, he conceived, he had sufficiently answered before. “I pray you, Mr. Joyce,” said the king, “deal ingenuously with me, and tell me what commission you have?” “Here is my commission,” said Joyce. “Where?” said the king. “*Here!*” replied the cornet. His majesty again asked, “Where?” “Behind me,” replied Joyce, pointing to the mounted soldiers. His majesty smiled and said, “It is as fair a commission, and as well written

as I have ever seen in my life! A company of handsome proper gentlemen!" After a few more words the king mounted, the trumpet sounded, and the whole party rode rapidly away from Holmby house. That night Charles slept at Hinchinbrook, and on the morrow they carried him to Childerley, near Newmarket.*

On the same day that Joyce had moved from Holmby house Cromwell had left London, having, it is said, intimation of a secret resolution that had been taken by the parliament to arrest him. He got secretly out of town, and without stop or stay rode to Triploe heath, his horse all in a foam, and there was welcomed with the shouts of the soldiery.† Forthwith the army entered into a solemn engagement not to disband or divide until they had overthrown the present Presbyterian government. Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Hammond, and other officers of rank, waited upon the king. That their demeanour was respectful is certain; but nearly everything else that passed at this meeting, or these meetings, is involved in doubt.

On the 10th of June, while parliament was voting that no part of the army should come within forty miles of the capital, the whole of that army marched upon London, sending out manifestos, collecting addresses of confidence from several counties, and demanding the speedy purgation of parliament. On the 15th of June, from their head-quarters at St. Albans, the army formally accused Denzil Hollis, Massey, Stapleton, and eight other members of the Commons. The house repeated its commands to the army not to advance. The army advanced immediately upon Uxbridge, and thereupon the "eleven members" went and hid themselves. The house then voted that the army was, in very deed, the army of England, and to be treated with all respect and care; and they sent propositions to the general, which induced him to remove his head-quarters from Uxbridge

* True and Impartial Narration concerning the army's preservation of the king.—Rushworth.—Journals.—Herbert.

† Perfect Politician.

to Wycombe. This slight movement gave wondrous courage to the eleven accused members, who came forth from their hiding places to their seats in the house, accusing their accusers, and demanding a trial; but very soon they lost heart, and obtained leave of absence and the Speaker's passport to go out of the kingdom.

Meanwhile the king had been removed from Newmarket to Royston, from Royston to Hatfield, the Earl of Salisbury's house, from Hatfield to Woburn Abbey, and thence to Windsor Castle. By means of his confidential attendants he opened or continued a very secret negotiation with Cromwell, Ireton, and other chief officers.

The Presbyterians were now making a last effort to regain the ascendancy. The army and the Independent residents in the city had demanded that the command of the London militia should be put into other hands. The Presbyterians not only refused, but chose this very moment for getting up a petition, calling for the suppression of all conventicles. At the same time they exhibited for signature in Guildhall another paper, which, after reciting the Covenant, engaged the subscribers of all degrees to do their utmost to keep away the army, and bring the king to Westminster. One hundred thousand signatures were set to this paper; and a few days after a disorderly rabble surrounded the houses of parliament, and caused such terror there that both Speakers and many members fled to the army for protection. Fairfax, who had advanced with the army to Hounslow Heath, there met the fugitive Independent members. Besides the two Speakers, there were fifteen lords and a hundred commonsers. The general forthwith published a declaration, "showing the grounds of his present advance to the city of London." The Presbyterian Londoners, being able to do nothing better, sent to entreat for a pacification, and to offer their quiet submission to the general.

On the 16th of August Fairfax came to Westminster, with the Speakers of both Houses, and the rest of the expelled Lords and Commons. The Speakers, in the name of the whole parliament, gave thanks to the general, and, as a gratuity, a month's pay was given to his army.

On the next day Fairfax and Cromwell marched into the city and settled the question of the militia. "Thus was the Presbyterian faction depressed. Never, perhaps, did a great party fall with less honour."*

While these things were in progress the council of officers had prepared their "Proposals," wherein they provided for the re-settlement of the kingdom upon principles of the largest liberty, both civil and religious, and of a glorious toleration which Europe had not yet seen even in theory. The great fault of this theory was, that it too much overlooked the passions, prejudices, and intellectual condition of the people. Ireton is generally considered to have been the principal author of this remarkable paper; but he acted concurrently with his father-in-law, Cromwell, who entertained the highest and justest notions about religious liberty, freedom of trade, and the other points which reflect the most honour upon this scheme.† In many respects, notwithstanding the republican tendencies of Ireton, this constitution would have left Charles more power and dignity as a king than the Presbyterian parliament had ever thought of giving him. But Charles, encouraged by my Lord Lauderdale and by other Presbyterians, as well in Scotland as in England, would give no direct answer to the proposals when they were submitted to him. At times he entertained Ireton and the other commissioners of the army, "with very tart and bitter discourses;" at other times he attempted to cajole them. Colonel Rainsborough, in the middle of the conferences, stole away in disgust, and, posting to the army, declared to officers and men that the king was again playing his double or treble game.‡ And in fact Charles at this very moment was negotiating not only with Lauderdale and the Scottish commissioners, with Cromwell and Ireton, and with other officers who entertained very different views, but also with the English Presbyterians and with the Irish Catholics—to each and

* May. Breviary.

† One of the clauses was—"All monopolies, old or new, and the restraints to the freedom of trade, to be taken off."

‡ Sir John Berkeley. Memoirs.

all of whom he was making promises and paying compliments. Nor could he control his own temper sufficiently to cloak his designs. One day he exclaimed to Ireton—"I shall play my game as well as I can!" Ireton instantly replied—"If your majesty have a game to play, you must give us also liberty to play ours."* And now, according to Ashburnham, the king's constant attendant, Cromwell first began to talk of "the happy condition the people of this kingdom would be in if the government under which they in Holland lived were settled here;" and both Ireton and Cromwell were found "at a great distance to what formerly they appeared to be in relation to his majesty's good." Cromwell and Ireton, however, continued their negotiations with the king until they incurred the suspicions both of parliament and the army. "The suspicions," says Berkeley, one of the king's attendants, "were so strong in the House that they lost almost all their friends there; and the army that then lay about Putney were no less ill-satisfied; for there came down shoals every day from London of the Presbyterian and Levelling parties, that fomented these jealousies; insomuch that Cromwell thought himself, or pretended it, not secure in his own quarters. The agitators now began to change their discourses. . . . These found it apparent that God had, on the one side, hardened the king's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the Proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering them any more; and that, on the other side, the Lord had led captivity captive, and put all things under their feet, and, therefore, they were bound to finish the work of the Lord, which was to alter the government according to their first design; and to this end they resolved to seize the king's person, and to take him out of Cromwell's hands."

Detested by the Presbyterians and Scots, duped or held in play by the king, and menaced by the violence of the ultra-republican party in the army, Cromwell, by

* Mrs. Hutchinson. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle, &c.*

the instinct of preservation, was obliged to look to his sword and to act with decision. If we are to believe a story told by two contemporaries, the hot-headed Levellers already looked upon him as their greatest enemy; and our old acquaintance, free-born John, now Colonel John Lilburne, with Wildman, another agitator, had formed a plot to assassinate him as a renegade to the cause of liberty. The republican Ireton agreed with his father-in-law that if republicans, like the levellers, were not checked, there would be anarchy in England. Fairfax was of the same opinion, and he issued his order to draw the army together to a general rendezvous at Ware on the 16th of November. As soon as the tumultuous part of the army had notice of it they resolved among themselves to seize the king's person before the day of the rendezvous, and bring him to condign punishment as the cause of the murder of many thousands of free-born Englishmen. Rumours of these intentions reached the king, who was now confined, without being very strictly guarded, at Hampton Court. About a fortnight before the time appointed for the great rendezvous at Ware, Charles told Berkeley that he was afraid of his life, and that he would have him assist in his escape. It appears that at one moment Charles thought of taking refuge in the city of London. But from this he was strongly dissuaded by some of his faithful servants. Other plans were proposed and rejected, chiefly through the caution or timidity of Lanark and the Scots commissioners. At last Charles took the advice of Ashburnham, and resolved to fly to Sir John Oglander's house in the Isle of Wight, as he had some hopes that Colonel Hammond, who had recently assumed the government of that island, would be disposed to serve him in this extremity.

On the 11th of November, late at night, news reached London that the king was fled from Hampton Court.

No consistent account is given of the manner in which the king escaped, of the night journey he made, or of the conferences with Colonel Hammond. Ashburnham and Berkeley, the king's two companions, relate nearly every

part of the story in a different way, each endeavouring to throw the blame of imprudence, or the suspicion of foul treachery, on the other, and both agreeing in this,—and in this only,—that Colonel Hammond promised to act in one way when the king was not as yet in his hands, and acted in another as soon as he was. This latter charge is not to be believed without better evidence than has hitherto been produced to support it. It appears rather that Charles went into the Isle of Wight as he had gone to the Scots camp, and that the necessity under which he lay rendered treachery or any deceptive promises on the part of Hammond altogether unnecessary, and that Hammond never pledged himself to do more than to defend his majesty's life against assassins. Instead of being conducted to Sir John Oglander's house, the king was conveyed to Carisbrook Castle.

On the 5th day after their arrival in the Isle of Wight, Charles and his friends learned the result of the rendezvous of the army at Ware, to which they had looked forward with extreme anxiety, apprehending nothing short of destruction from the triumph of the mutinous soldiery. Nor had Cromwell been free from uneasy thoughts: the Levellers had accused him of taking the king out of their hands and smuggling him away; and they had openly threatened to take the life of the renegade. But wise and resolute measures had been adopted; and at the decisive moment it was found that the Levelling faction was numerically weak. When the troop met at Ware only two regiments—Harrison's horse and Lilburne's foot—showed any mutinous spirit. Cromwell, followed by a few of his favourite officers, galloped into the ranks of these mutineers, seized one of their ringleaders by the throat, and caused him to be shot on the instant;—and in that instant all opposition vanished. Charles sent Berkeley from the Isle of Wight with letters to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton. Fairfax received the royal messenger very sternly, and all the officers did the same, the general saying that they were the parliament's army, and that all motions of treaty must be referred to parliament, to whom he would transmit his majesty's letters. The

next morning Berkeley contrived to let Cromwell know that he had secret letters to him from the king; but Cromwell sent him word that he durst not see him, that he would serve his majesty so long as he could do it without his own ruin, but must desire him not to expect that he should perish for the king's sake.

Berkeley thereupon proceeded to London, and put himself in communication with the Lords Lauderdale and Lanark and other Scots. Yet Charles addressed a letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, to be communicated also to the House of Commons. He reiterated his scruples of conscience concerning the abolition of episcopacy, but said that he hoped he should satisfy the parliament with his reasons if he might personally treat with them.

The parliament "resolved upon a middle way," and on the 14th of December they passed four propositions, drawn up in the form of acts, which when the king had signed, he was to be admitted to a personal treaty at London. These propositions were—1. That his majesty should concur in a bill for settling of the militia. 2. That he should call in all declarations, oaths, and proclamations, against the parliament, and those who had adhered to them. 3. That all the lords who were made after the great seal was carried away should be rendered incapable of sitting in the House of Peers. 4. That power should be given to the two Houses of Parliament to adjourn as they should think fit. The commissioners of Scotland, who had been acted upon by Lauderdale and Lanark and Berkeley, and who had received several communications from Charles himself, protested against the sending of these four bills to the king before he should be treated with at London. On the 24th of December the bills were presented to Charles at Carisbrook Castle, where the king, understanding the mind of the Scots, and the factions in London, absolutely refused to give his assent; and the commissioners, with this stern denial, returned to London. But, by this time, Charles had made up his mind to a secret treaty with the Scots, in which he engaged to renounce episcopacy and accept the

Covenant, the Scots, on their part, engaging to restore him by force of arms; and on the 28th of December he privately signed this treaty.

A.D. 1648.—And now Charles thought of flying from the Isle of Wight, being probably alike apprehensive of the consequences of his refusing the four propositions of parliament, and of those which must follow any detection of his treaty with the Scots or of his other plans—for other plans of various and conflicting kinds were certainly entertained. But Hammond had now sent Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legge out of the island, so that they could no longer be active in the business of contriving the king's escape from Carisbrook, and the guards had been doubled at the castle. In fact, Charles was now, for the first time, a close prisoner. A French vessel had arrived in Southampton Water, but it was dismissed. Ashburnham and Berkeley, however, kept a relay of saddle-horses on the coast, hoping that Charles might get out of the castle; and such was the activity and ingenuity of these men, and of the king himself, that an active correspondence was still carried on between the royal captive and his friends in France, Scotland, and London. On one dark night Charles well nigh got out of the castle by forcing his body through the iron bars of his prison window. On another occasion a drum beat suddenly at dead of night in the quiet little island town of Newport; and one Captain Burley tried to get up an insurrection and rescue the king—"a design so impossible for those that undertook it to effect, they consisting chiefly of women and children, without any arms, saving one musket, that no sober man could possibly have been engaged in it." Poor Burley was made prisoner and subsequently put to death as a traitor. Silken cords wherewith to descend and aqua fortis wherewith to corrode the bars of his prison are said to have been adroitly conveyed to the royal prisoner.* But the parliament

* According to Herbert, while Charles was in Carisbrook Castle he spent much of his time in reading. "The Sacred Scripture was the book he most delighted in: he

were now working with more corrosive acids. On the 3rd of January, 1648, the Commons took into consideration the king's refusal of their four propositions. "The dispute," says May, "was sharp, vehement, and high. It was there affirmed, that the king, by this denial, had denied his protection to the people of England; that it was very unjust and absurd that the parliament, having so often tried the king's affections, should now betray to an implacable enemy both themselves and all those friends who, in a most just cause, had valiantly adventured their lives and fortunes; that nothing was now left for them to do, but to take care for the safety of themselves and their friends, and settle the Commonwealth (since otherwise it could not be) without the king."* Ireton spoke with great force, declaring that the king had denied that protection to the people which was the condition of their obedience to him; that they ought not to desert the brave men who had fought for them beyond all possibility of retreat or forgiveness, and who would never forsake the parliament, unless the parliament first forsook them. "After some further debate, Cromwell brought up the rear. It was time, he said, to answer the public expectation; that they were able and resolved to govern and defend the kingdom by their own power, and teach the people they had nothing to hope from a man whose heart God hardened in obstinacy." The end of all this was a vote, in which the Lords concurred with the Commons—that no further addresses or applications should be made to the king, or

read often in Bishop Andrews' Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Dr. Hammond's works, Villalpandus upon Ezekiel, Sands's Paraphrase of King David's Psalms, Herbert's Divine Poems, and also Godfrey of Bulloigne, writ in Italian by Torquato Tasso, and done into English heroic verse by Mr. Fairfax,—a poem his majesty much commended,—as he did also Ariosto, by Sir John Harrington, a facetious poet, much esteemed, &c., and Spenser's Fairy Queen, and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies."—*Memoirs*.

* Breviary.

any message received from him, without the consent of both Houses, under the penalties of high treason.*

On the 9th of January there was sent up from headquarters at Windsor "a declaration from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and the general council of the army, of their resolution to adhere to the parliament, in their proceedings concerning the king." † Both Houses passed a vote of thanks to the army for this declaration.

The Scottish commissioners, whose secret treaty with the king was more than suspected, now ran down to Scotland to prepare for war. So long as these noble Scots remained in London and in good agreement with the English parliament, they had had a share in the executive power which was vested in a committee of both kingdoms. Now this executive power was lodged solely in an English committee, called the "Committee for the Safety of the Commonwealth." It was composed of seven peers—the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick, and Manchester, the Lords Saye, Wharton, and Roberts; and thirteen members of the House of Commons—Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Fiennes, Sir Harry Vane, senior, Harry Vane, junior, Sir William Armine, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Mr. St. John, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Browne, who all sat together at Derby House, and who had power to suppress tumults and insurrections and to raise forces as they saw occasion. Part of the army, which had certainly overawed the House of Lords and driven them into compliances, was now quartered about Westminster, the Mews, and the city. "The parliament," says May, "though victorious, was never in more danger. All men began, in the spring, to prophesy that the summer would be a hot one, in respect of wars, seeing how the countries were divided in factions, the Scots full of threats, the city of London as full of unquietness. And more sad things were feared where least seen; rumours every day frightening the people of secret plots and treasonable meetings."

* Whitelock.—May

† Id.

The first insurrectionary movement of any consequence took place in London, upon Sunday the 9th of April, when a mob of apprentices and other young people stoned a captain of the train-bands, in Moorfields, took away his colours, and marched in disorderly rout to Westminster, crying out, as they went, "King Charles! King Charles!" They were quickly scattered by a troop of horse that sallied out of the King's Mews; but, running back into the city, they filled it with fears and disorders all that Sabbath night, broke open houses to procure arms, and enforced the lord mayor to escape privately out of his house and fly into the Tower. On the morrow morning Fairfax stopped this mischief in the beginning, but not without bloodshed. Shortly after, a body of about three hundred men came out of Surrey to Westminster, demanding that the king should presently be restored. As they cursed the parliament and insulted the soldiers on guard there, a collision ensued, in which several lives were lost. At the same time the men of Kent drew together in great numbers, and, on the other side of the Thames, Essex became the scene of a great rising for the king. In various other parts of the kingdom there were tumultuary gatherings or attempts made by the royalists to surprise castles and magazines of arms. The Presbyterians, uniting with the concealed royalists, seemed again to acquire the ascendancy in the House of Commons; and to Cromwell and the Independents the triumph of the Presbyterians would have been nothing less than destruction. On the 24th of April * a Presbyterian majority voted that the military posts and defences of the city of London should be

* On the preceding day, "at a conference the Lords acquainted the Commons that the Duke of York, with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Lady Elizabeth, being together playing in a room the last night after supper by themselves, the Duke of York privately slipped from them down the back stairs without cloak or coat, in his shoes and stockings, and by the way of the Privy Garden, having got a key of the door, he escaped away through the park, and could not be found."—*Whitelock*. Charles, who, as we have men-

again intrusted to the common council; and four days after they carried their motion that the government of the kingdom should continue to be by king, lords, and commons, and that a new treaty should be opened with King Charles, notwithstanding the recent vote of non-addresses. And, being as intolerant as ever,—hating the Independents much more on account of their religious opinions than on that of their republicanism,—they revived an ordinance which punished heresy and blasphemy with death.

The men of Kent, after threatening the parliament for some time at a distance, marched boldly upon London. Fairfax encountered them in the end of May on Blackheath, with seven regiments, and drove them back to Rochester. But Lord Goring, with several officers of the late army of the king, made head again and got into Gravesend, while other bodies of the Kentish men took possession of Canterbury and tried to take Dover. Ireton and Rich soon gave an account of the latter, and Goring was soon fain to cross the Thames and raise his standard in Essex. He was followed by Fairfax, who drove him into Colchester, and shut him up in that place. Simultaneously with these movements the royalists had risen in Wales and had taken Pembroke Castle. But victorious Cromwell got again to horse, rode rapidly into Wales, defeated Langhorn and the royalists there, and retook Pembroke Castle. The whole of the north of England was in commotion, and every day a Scottish army was expected across the borders. Upon the return of their commissioners, the Scottish parliament, after demanding from the English the establishment of presbytery, the extirpation of heresy, the disbanding of Fairfax's heretical army, the immediate restoration of the king, and other things equally unlikely to be granted, voted that they would preserve the union and ends of the covenant, and oppose the popish, prelatical, and malignant party, as well as the sectaries, if they should be put to engage in a new war; that they would endeavour to rescue his majesty, contrived to maintain communications with St. James's, had ordered his second son to fly.

jesty, and put the kingdom of Scotland into a posture of defence. And soon after they began to raise an army, not for the defence of Scotland, but for the invasion of England. Duke Hamilton and his party, who managed these matters, took care to proclaim that Charles would take the Covenant, and give his assurance by oath and under his hand and seal to uphold the true Presbyterian kirk; but the old Covenanters, now headed by Argyle, the declared enemy of Hamilton, were as far as possible from being satisfied with these assurances, and soon the whole kirk of Scotland cursed the war as impious. The vote which Hamilton had carried in parliament was for 30,000 foot and 6000 horse; but he could only raise 10,000 foot and 400 horse, nor even these till the month of July, by which time Cromwell and Ireton and Fairfax had restored order in most parts of England. When the Scots crossed the borders, they were disgusted and horrified at the thought of being joined by the English royalists under Langdale, because those soldiers were prelatists or papists, or men that had fought against the blessed Covenant. The forces of the parliament in the north, being too weak to risk a battle, retreated before Langdale and Hamilton, but not far; for Cromwell, who had entirely finished his work in Wales, came up, joined Lambert and Lilburne, surprised Langdale near Preston, in Lancashire, drove him back upon the main body of the Scots, and then, on the same day, completely routed Hamilton, whom the conqueror pursued to Warrington. Lieutenant-General Baillie, with a great part of the Scotch army, who had only quarter for their lives, was taken prisoner. Duke Hamilton himself was captured within a few days at Uttoxeter, and Langdale not long after was taken in a little village near Widmerpool. Argyle, the friend and correspondent of Cromwell, now organised a new government,* invited the conqueror, who had pursued part of the routed army beyond the

* Soon after, "Argyle took at Leith a ship with 10,000 arms, from Denmark, designed for Duke Hamilton."—*Whitelock*.

Tweed, to Edinburgh Castle, and there most honourably entertained him. Thanks were given by the ministers to Cromwell, whom they styled the preserver of Scotland under God.

On the 16th of October, having finished his business in Scotland, Cromwell left Edinburgh. During his absence in the north the royalists had not been idle in the south. The Earl of Holland, who had served and deserted every party, veered round once more to the court, irritated by the contempt in which the parliament held him, and animated perhaps by a hope that the Presbyterians, united with the Scots, must now prove victorious. He corresponded with Duke Hamilton, and engaged to make a rising in London on the same day on which Hamilton should cross the border. And upon the 5th of July, whilst Fairfax was busy at Colchester, he collected five hundred horse in the city, and called upon the citizens to join him for King Charles. This call was little heeded, for the citizens had suffered severely for their late apprentice-boy riot, and the earl marched away to Kingston-upon-Thames, whence he issued invitations to join him, and manifestos of his intention of ending the calamities of the nation. Sir Michael Levesey and other gentlemen, "who took occasion by the forelock," fell suddenly upon him, and put him to flight after a short but sharp engagement, in which the Lord Francis Villiers, who, with his brother the Duke of Buckingham, had joined Holland, was piteously slain. Holland fled with a small part of his horse to the town of St. Neots, but, being pursued by Colonel Scrope, he surrendered at discretion on the 10th of July. On the 27th of August Goring and the royalists, who had bravely defended themselves in Colchester for more than two months, surrendered at discretion to Fairfax.

While the Earl of Holland was going over to the king, his brother, the Earl of Warwick, remained steady to the parliament, and performed the most important of services. About the beginning of June several of the chief ships in the national fleet revolted, and sailed away to Holland, where Prince Charles then was, and with him his brother

the Duke of York. The parliament at this crisis re-appointed the Earl of Warwick to be lord high admiral. From the moment that he raised his flag mutiny and desertion ceased. He stationed himself at the mouth of the Thames to watch the Essex coast, to prevent supplies and reinforcements being sent to Colchester, and to defend the approach to London. In the month of July the Prince of Wales appeared in the Downs with a good fleet, consisting of the English ships which had deserted to him, and of some which he had procured abroad. Men would naturally have imagined that the son's first attempt would have been for the liberation of his father from Carisbrook Castle; but, though young Charles remained absolute master of the sea and coasts for several weeks, Warwick being too weak to face him, no such attempt was ever made. Clarendon says plainly that the person of the king was not wanted, or at least that "it cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither."

The utter failure of Duke Hamilton's expedition, and of all the royalist risings, the surrender of Colchester, and the temper of the people along the coasts, rendered the presence of the royalist fleet useless; but still if it had sailed to the Isle of Wight it might have saved the king. The hapless prisoner expressly urged this course by a message, yet Prince Charles still lay about the Downs. To our minds these things suggest darker thoughts than arise out of any other transaction of the times. On the other side Warwick waited patiently till Sir George Ayscough, successfully sailing by Prince Charles in the night, brought round reinforcements from Portsmouth. Then the parliament's fleet was a match for the royalists, but the prince ventured no attack, fired not a gun, and, through a real or pretended want of provisions, stood round and steered away for the Dutch coast, without an effort for—apparently without a thought of—his hapless father.

While Cromwell, who had with him several of the republican leaders in parliament, was engaged as yet

with the war in Wales, the Presbyterians carried several important votes, and entirely annulled and made void the resolution against making more addresses to the king. Emboldened by their success, they proposed that, without binding him to anything, they should bring the king to London, and there treat with him personally with honour, freedom, and safety; and this would have been carried but for Cromwell's decisive victories, the ruin of Hamilton, and the other circumstances which revived the hopes and courage of the Independents. At last, as a sort of compromise between the two parties, it was voted that fifteen commissioners—the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, Middlesex, and Saye, of the Upper House, and the Lord Wenman, Sir Harry Vane, junior, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Hollis, Pierpoint, Browne, Crewe, Potts, Glynne, and Buckley, of the Commons—should conduct a treaty personally with Charles, not in London, but at Newport, in the Isle of Wight. The treaty was not fairly entered upon until the 18th of September, when Prince Charles had returned to Holland, and when Cromwell was thinking of returning from Scotland. “The king,” says May, “during this treaty, found not only great reverence and observance from the commissioners of parliament, but was attended with a prince-like retinue, and was allowed what servants he should choose, to make up the splendour of a court. . . . But whilst this treaty proceeded, and some months were spent in debates, concessions, and denials, behold, another strange alteration happened, which threw the king from the height of honour into the lowest condition. So strangely did one contrary provoke another. Whilst some laboured to advance the king into his throne again upon slender conditions, or none at all, others, weighing what the king had done, what the commonwealth, and, especially, what the parliament's friends might suffer, if he should come to reign again with unchanged affections, desired to take him quite away. From hence divers and frequent petitions were presented to the parliament, and some to the General Fairfax, that whosoever had offended against the

commonwealth, no persons excepted, might come to judgment.”* The first of these petitions, entitled “The humble petition of many thousands of well-affected men in the cities of London and Westminster, in the borough of Southwark, and the neighbouring villages,” was presented to parliament on the 11th of September; it was followed by many others from different counties of England, and from several regiments of the army, the scope of them all being the same—that the king should be called to judgment; that the parliament should not ungratefully throw away so many miraculous deliverances, nor betray themselves and their faithful friends by deceitful treaties with an implacable enemy.

The articles submitted to the king at the Isle of Wight were substantially the same as those which had been proposed to him at Hampton Court. He objected to the articles regarding religion, and refused to assent to the abolition of episcopacy, though ready to agree to a suspension of it. The Presbyterian Commissioners knelt, and wept, and prayed, but all was in vain. Other points Charles yielded readily enough, but he promised, as he had ever done, with a mental reservation to break his promises as soon as he should be able. The fact is proved by his own secret letters. He had previously agreed in the most solemn manner to cease all connection with the Papists in Ireland, and yet, encouraged by some circumstances which had occurred in that island, he now wrote to Ormond, urging him again to take the field with an Irish Catholic army. All this time he was buoying himself up with hopes that his friends would relieve him. “Though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand,” said he, “let them relieve me when they can, else I will hold it out till I make some stone in this building my tombstone. And so will I do by the church of England.”†

The Presbyterians in parliament added twenty days to the forty originally prescribed for the duration of the

* May, Breviary.

† Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. Warwick was allowed to attend upon the king at Newport.

treaty. This brought them down to the 27th of November; but, in the interval, their schemes had been shaken to pieces by the Independents. The army had drawn together in the town of St. Albans, and had drawn up a startling remonstrance to the House of Commons. This remonstrance was presented by a deputation from their own body, and seconded by a letter from Fairfax. "It induced a long and high debate; some inveighed sharply against the insolency of it, others palliated and excused the matters in it, and some did not stick to justify it, but most were silent because it came from the army."*

In fact Cromwell was now at hand; and he, the most powerful of all, was determined, above all, to break alike the delusive treaty in the Isle of Wight, and the power of the Presbyterians. Perceiving that Hammond withstood his appeals, and inclined to keep the king for the parliament, he and Ireton procured his recall to head-quarters, and got Colonel Ewer appointed in his stead. Ewer, a zealous republican, hastened to the Isle of Wight; and there, on the 30th of November, he sent Colonel Cobbet with a squadron of horse to seize his majesty and send him over to the surer prison of Hurst Castle. Cobbet executed his commission without flinching and without any difficulty.

On the same day on which the king was removed from the Isle of Wight, the question whether the remonstrance of the army should be taken into speedy consideration was negatived by the Presbyterian majority. And on the same eventful day a "declaration" from a full council of the army was presented to the House, signifying to it that they were drawing up with the whole army to London, there to follow Providence as God should clear their way.

The Presbyterian majority mustered courage to fall with some dignity. They met on the morrow; they debated on the treaty with the king, and they sent to order Fairfax to stop the march of the army. They took their seats again on the following day, the 2nd of De-

* Whitelock.

cember, but while they were in high debate, Fairfax and his army arrived at London, and took up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, York house, and other places near the houses of parliament. The two Houses adjourned till the 4th of December. It was on that day that Cromwell arrived in London. The Commons continued their debate upon the treaty with the king, and sat all that night. They met again on the 5th, and then voted by a majority of 140 to 104 that the king's concessions were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom.

But the mighty stream of revolution could not now be checked—the sword was all powerful—twenty thousand enthusiastic men had vowed in their hearts that they would purge this parliament, and on the morning of the 6th, the regiment of horse of Colonel Rich and the foot regiment of Colonel Pride surrounded the Houses. Colonel Pride, from whose active part in it the operation has been called “Pride's Purge,” posted himself in the lobby, and arrested forty-one leading Presbyterian members as they arrived, and sent them to safe prison. The purge was continued on the following day. Not a few of the obnoxious members fled into the country or hid themselves in the city; so that, by the 8th of December all that were left in the House of Commons were some fifty Independents, who were afterwards styled the Rump. Cromwell went into the purged House, and received their hearty thanks for his great services.

In a day or two the Rump were informed that the Irish papists were again in insurrection, and that Ormond was acting openly with them for the king. On the 13th of December they voted the treaty in the Isle of Wight to have been a monstrous error, a dishonour, and a great peril to the country. On the 16th a strong party of horse, under the command of Colonel Harrison, were detached to Hurst Castle with orders to remove the king to Windsor Castle. It was at the dead of the night when Charles was startled by the creaking of the descending drawbridge and the tramp of horsemen.*

* Herbert, Memoirs.

He thought that his last hour was come. When the commander of the detachment was named to him, his trepidation increased, and he wept as well as prayed. Upon being taken out of Hurst Castle he apprehended that the terrible Harrison would murder him somewhere on the road.* On the 22nd of December he slept at Bagshot, and on the 23rd he was safely lodged in Windsor Castle.†

A.D. 1649.—On the same day the Independents, calling themselves the House of Commons, appointed a committee of thirty-eight “to consider of drawing up a charge against the king, and all other delinquents that may be thought fit to bring to condign punishment.” A few voices were raised for the saving of life; but on the 1st of January an ordinance, prepared by a committee of thirty-eight, was reported to the fragment of the House. The preamble stated that Charles Stuart, having been admitted King of England, “with a limited power,” and to govern by and according to law, had endeavoured “to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power,” and that for accomplishing his designs he had “traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament and the people therein represented.‡ This ordinance was sent up to the Lords on the next day. Those few Lords that remained in the House re-

* Clarendon says, “In this journey, Harrison observing that the king had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination and murder, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it; he told him plainly that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension,—that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention,—and assured him that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness, and would never endure a thought of secret violence; which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe, nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people under any form whatsoever of a public trial.”—*Hist.*

† Herbert.—Rushworth.—Whitelock.

‡ Rushworth.

jected it without a dissentient voice. and then adjourned.* Forthwith, the Commons, with closed doors, came to this resolution—"That the Commons of England, in parliament assembled, do declare that the people are, under God, the origin of all just power. And do also declare that the Commons of England in parliament assembled, being chosen by representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation. And do also declare, that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of a law; and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of King or House of Peers be not had thereunto."†

While these things were passing at Westminster, Charles, confident in the sacred dignity of majesty, was deluding himself with unaccountable hopes at Windsor.‡

But in the House of Commons the storm rolled onward with increasing rapidity. On the 6th of January the ordinance for trial of the king was brought in, and the same day engrossed and passed. By this ordinance the Independents erected what they styled a High Court of Justice for trying the king, and proceeding to sentence against him; to consist of a hundred and thirty-five commissioners, of whom any twenty were to form a quorum. Among the commissioners were Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Waller, Skippon, Harrison, Whalley, Pride, Ewer, Tomlinson,—in all, three generals and thirty-four colonels of the army; the Lords Monson, Grey of Groby, and Lisle; most of the members of the Rump; Wilson, Fowkes, Pennington, and Andrewes, aldermen of the city; Bradshaw Thorpe, and Nicholas, serjeants-at-law; twenty-two knights and baronets; various citizens of London, and some few country gentlemen. But of all this number, there never met at one time more than eighty. On the 8th of January, fifty-three assembled in the Painted Chamber, headed by Fairfax, who never appeared after that day, and ordered that, on the

* It appears that there were only twelve, or at the most thirteen, lords present.

† Rushworth.

VOL. XII.

‡ Sydney Papers.

I

morrow, a herald should proclaim, and invite the people to bring in what matter of fact they had against Charles Stuart.* On the 9th the residue of the Commons voted that the great seal in use should be broken, and a new one forthwith made, and that this new seal should have on one side the inscription, "The Great Seal of England;" and on the other, "In the First Year of Freedom, by God's Blessing restored, 1648."† The commissioners for the trial chose Serjeant Bradshaw to be their president, Mr. Steel to be attorney-general, Mr. Coke to be Solicitor-general, and Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Aske to act as counsel with them in drawing up and managing the charges against the prisoner. All preliminaries being arranged, Charles on the 19th of January, was brought up from Windsor to St. James's, and on the following day he was put upon his trial.

The place appointed for the trial was the site of the old Courts of Chancery and King's Bench, at the upper end of Westminster Hall. That vast and antique hall was divided by strong barriers placed across it. The gothic portal was opened to the people, who assembled in immense crowds. Everywhere, within the hall and around it, were soldiers under arms—every avenue of approach was guarded. The king was brought in a sedan-chair to the bar, where a chair, covered with velvet, was prepared for him. He looked sternly upon the court and upon the people in the galleries on each side of him, and sat down without moving his hat. His judges returned his severe glances, and also kept on their hats. Upon a calling of the names, sixty of the commissioners answered. Bradshaw, as president, in a short speech acquainted the prisoner with the cause of his being brought thither. Then Coke, as solicitor for the Commonwealth, stood up to speak; but Charles held up his cane, touched him two or

* Whitelock.

† It would be 1649, New Style.—Whitelock says, "This was for the most part the fancy of Mr. Henry Martin, a noted member of the House of Commons, more particularly the inscriptions." The hypocritical speeches attributed to Cromwell on this occasion rest on very indifferent authority.

three times on the shoulder with it, and cried "Hold! hold!" In so doing the gold head dropped from his cane. Nevertheless Bradshaw ordered Coke to go on, who then said, "My Lord, I am come to charge Charles Stuart, King of England, in the name of all the Commons of England, with treason and high misdemeanors: I desire the said charge may be read." Coke then delivered the charge in writing to the clerk, who began to read it. Charles again cried "Hold!" but, at the order of the president, the clerk went on, and the prisoner sat down, "looking sometimes on the high court, sometimes up to the galleries; and having risen again, and turned about to behold the guards and spectators, sat down again, looking very sternly, and with a countenance not at all moved, till these words—namely, "Charles Stuart to be a tyrant, a traitor," &c, were read; "at which he laughed, as he sat, in the face of the court." When the long charge was finished, taxing the king with the whole of the civil war, with the death of thousands of the free people of the nation, with divisions within the land, invasions from foreign parts, the waste of the public treasury, the decay of trade, the spoliation and desolation of great parts of the country, the continued commissions to the prince and other rebels, to the Marquess of Ormond, the Irish papists, &c., Bradshaw, the lord-president, told him that the court expected his answer. Charles replied with great dignity and clearness. He demanded by what lawful authority he was brought thither. "I was not long ago," said he, "in the Isle of Wight; how I came there is a longer story than is fit at this time for me to speak of; but there I entered into a treaty with both houses of parliament with as much public faith as is possible to be had of any person in the world. I treated there with a number of honourable lords and gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly. I cannot say but they did very nobly with me. We were upon a conclusion of the treaty. Now, I would know by what authority, I mean lawful,—for there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the highways,—but I would know by what authority I was

brought from thence, and carried from place to place. Remember I am your lawful king. Let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here,—resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.” Bradshaw told him that he might have observed he was there by the authority of the people of England, whose elected king he was. “England,” cried Charles, “was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom for near these thousand years. I stand more for the liberty of my people than any here that come to be my pretended judges.” “Sir,” said Bradshaw, “how well you have managed your trust is known. If you acknowledge not the authority of the court they must proceed.” “Here is a gentleman,” said Charles, pointing to Colonel Cobbet, “ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force. I do not come here as submitting to this court. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a parliament; and the king, too, must be in and part of a parliament.” “If it does not satisfy you,” exclaimed Bradshaw, “*we* are satisfied with our authority, which we have from God and the people. The court expects you to answer; their purpose is to adjourn to Monday next.” He then commanded the guard to take him away, upon which Charles replied, “Well, Sir.” And as he went away facing the court, he added, pointing to the sword, “I do not fear that.” Some of the people cried “God save the king!” others shouted “Justice! justice!”* He was remanded to Sir Robert Cotton’s house, and thence to St. James’s; and the high court adjourned, and kept a fast together at Whitehall, where they heard much praying and preaching.

* On this day, Whitelock says, “There were strict guards, many soldiers, and a great press of people at the trial of the king. The House sate only to adjourn. Some who sate on the scaffold about the court at the trial (particularly the Lady Fairfax, the lord-general’s wife) did not forbear to exclaim aloud against the proceedings of the high court, and the inveterate usage of the king by his subjects, insomuch that the court was interrupted, and the soldiers and officers of the court had much to do to quiet the ladies and others.”

On Monday the 22nd of January, in the afternoon, Charles was led back to Westminster Hall. As soon as he was at the bar, Coke rose and said, "I did at the last court exhibit a charge of high treason and other crimes against the prisoner in the name of the people of England. Instead of answering, he did dispute the authority of this high court. I move, on behalf of the kingdom of England, that the prisoner may be directed to make a positive answer by way of confession or negation; and that if he refuse so to do, the charge be taken *pro confesso*, and the court proceed to justice." Then Bradshaw told the prisoner that the court were fully satisfied with their own authority, and did now expect that he should plead guilty or not guilty. Charles repeated that he still questioned the legality of this court; that a king could not be tried by any jurisdiction upon earth; but that it was not for himself alone that he resisted, but for the liberty of the people of England, which was dearer to him than to his judges. He was going on in this strain, talking of the lives, liberties, and estates of his people, when Bradshaw interrupted him by telling him that he, as a prisoner, and charged as a high delinquent, could not be suffered any longer to enter into argument and dispute concerning that court's authority. Charles replied, that, though he knew not the forms of law, he knew law and reason: that he knew as much law as any gentleman in England, and was therefore pleading for the liberties of the people more than his judges were doing. He again went on to deny the legality of the court, and Bradshaw again interrupted him; and this was repeated many times. At last the president ordered the serjeant-at-arms to remove the prisoner from the bar. "Well, Sir," exclaimed Charles, "remember that the king is not suffered to give in his reasons for the liberty and freedom of all his subjects." "Sir," replied Bradshaw, "how great a friend you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England and the world judge." Charles, exclaiming, "Well, Sir," was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's house. The court then adjourned to the Painted Chamber, on Tuesday at twelve o'clock.

At the appointed time sixty-three commissioners met

in close conference in the Painted Chamber, and there resolved that Bradshaw should acquaint the king that if he continued contumacious he must expect no further time. This done, the court adjourned to Westminster Hall, and the king was brought in with the accustomed guard. Coke again craved judgment, censuring the prisoner for disputing the authority of the court and the *supreme* authority and jurisdiction of the House of Commons. Bradshaw followed in the same strain, saying, in conclusion, "Sir, you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these treasons." Charles, after a short pause, said,—“When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the liberties of the people of England : I was interrupted. I desire to know whether I may speak freely or not ?” Bradshaw replied, that when he had once pleaded he should be heard at large ; and he invited him to make the best defence he could against the charge. “For the charge,” cried Charles, “I value it not a rush ; it is the liberty of the people of England that I stand for. I am your king, bound to uphold justice, to maintain the old laws ; therefore, until I know that all this is not against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I can put in no particular answer. If you will give me time I will show you my reasons why I cannot do it, and”—here the president interrupted him ; but Charles, as soon as his voice ceased, continued his reasoning ; and after several interruptions of this kind, Bradshaw said, “Clerk, do your duty ;” and the clerk read :—“Charles Stuart, king of England, you are accused in behalf of the Commons of England of divers crimes and treasons, which charge hath been read unto you ; the court now requires you to give your positive and final answer, by way of confession or denial of the charge.” Charles once more urged that he could not acknowledge a new court or alter the fundamental laws. Bradshaw replied, “Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned this court and put an affront upon it. How far you have preserved the liberties of the people your actions have shown. Truly, Sir, men’s intentions ought to be known by their actions ; you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout

this kingdom. But, Sir, you understand the pleasure of the court. Clerk, record the default. And, gentlemen, you that took charge of the prisoner, take him back again." "Sir," rejoined Charles, "I will say yet one word to you. If it were my own particular, I would not say any more to interrupt you." "Sir," replied Bradshaw, "you have heard the pleasure of the court, and you are, notwithstanding you will not understand it, to find that you are before a court of justice." And then the king went forth with his guards to Sir Robert Cotton's house, where he lay.

As early as the 17th of January, the Rump had been advertised, by private letters from Scotland, that the parliament there, *nemine contradicente*, did dissent from the proceedings of the parliament of England; 1. In the toleration extended to sectaries. 2. In the trial of the king. 3. In alteration of the form of government. And upon this day, Tuesday the 23rd, the Scottish commissioners, the Earl of Lothian, and Sir John Cheseley, who were in London for the purpose of treating with Charles and the parliament, sent to the speaker of the Rump their solemn protest against all proceedings for bringing the king to trial.*

On the 24th and 25th of January, the fourth and fifth days of the trial, the court sat in the Painted Chamber hearing witnesses, having determined that, though the king refused to plead, they would proceed to the examination of witnesses *ex abundanti*,—in other words, only for the further satisfaction of themselves. On the sixth day the commissioners were engaged in preparing the sentence, having then determined that the king's condemnation should extend to death. A question was agitated as to his deprivation and deposition previously to his execution, but it was postponed, and the sentence, with a blank for the manner of death, was drawn up by Ireton, Harrison, Harry Martin, Saye, Lisle, and Love, and ordered to be engrossed.

On the morrow, the 27th of January, and the seventh day of this unlawful but memorable trial, the high court of justice sat for the last time in Westminster Hall; and the Lord President Bradshaw, who had hitherto worn

* Whitelock.—Rushworth.

plain black, was robed in scarlet, and most of the commissioners were "in their best habit." After the calling of the court the king came in, as was his wont, with his hat on; and as he passed up the hall a loud cry was heard of "Justice!—justice! Execution!—execution!" "This," says Whitelock, "was made by some soldiers, and others of the rabble." One of the soldiers upon guard, moved by a better feeling, said, "God bless you, Sir!" Charles thanked him; but his officer struck the poor man with his cane. "Methinks," said Charles, "the punishment exceeds the offence." Bradshaw's scarlet robe and the solemn aspect of the whole court convinced the king that this would be his last appearance on that stage. The natural love of life seems to have shaken his firmness and constancy, and as soon as he was at the bar he earnestly desired to be heard. Bradshaw told him that he should be heard in his turn, but that he must hear the court first. Charles returned still more eagerly to his prayer for a first hearing, urging repeatedly that hasty judgment was not so soon recalled. Bradshaw repeated that he should be heard before judgment was given, and then remarked how he had refused to make answer to the charge brought against him in the name of the people of England. Here a female voice cried aloud, "No, not half the people." The voice was supposed to proceed from Lady Fairfax, the Presbyterian wife of the lord-general, who still kept aloof, doing nothing; but it was soon silenced, and the president continued his speech, which ended in assuring the king that, if he had anything to say in defence of himself concerning the matter charged, the court would hear him. Charles then said, "I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that I call more dear to me than my life, which is my conscience and honour; and if I had a respect to my life more than to the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence; for by that, at leastwise, I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I perceive will pass upon me. . . . I conceive that a hasty sentence once passed may sooner be repented of than recalled; and truly the desire I have for the peace of the kingdom and

the liberty of the subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at least desire, before sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber *before the Lords and Commons*. I am sure what I have to say is well worth the hearing." Bradshaw told him that all this was but a further declining of the jurisdiction of the court, and sternly refused his prayer for a hearing in the Painted Chamber, which is generally, though perhaps very incorrectly, supposed to have related to a proposal for abdicating in favour of his eldest son. But one of the commissioners on the bench, John Downes, a citizen of London, after saying repeatedly to those who sat near him, "Have we hearts of stone? Are we men?" rose and said in a trembling voice, "My lord, I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence. I have reasons to offer against it. I desire the court may adjourn to hear me." And the court adjourned in some disorder. After half an hour's absence they all returned to their places, and that, too, with a unanimous resolution to send the king to the block. Bradshaw cried out, "Serjeant-at arms, send for your prisoner;" and Charles, who had passed the time in solemn conference with Bishop Juxon, returned to his seat at the bar. "Sir," said Bradshaw, addressing him, "you were pleased to make a motion for the propounding of somewhat to the Lords and Commons for the peace of this kingdom. Sir, you did in effect receive an answer before the court adjourned. Sir, the return I have to you from the court is this,—that they have been too much delayed by you already." After some more discourse to the same effect, Bradshaw was silent; and then the king, saying that he did not deny the power they had, that he knew they had quite power enough, again implored to be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber. Bradshaw again refused in the name of the whole court, and proceeded to deliver a long and bitter speech in justification of their sentence. He told the fallen king that the law was his superior, and that he ought to have ruled according to the law; that as the law was *his* superior, so there was something that was superior to the law, and that was the

people of England, the parent or author of the law. "Sir," he continued, "that which we are now upon, by the command of the highest court, is to try and judge you for your great offences. The charge hath called you tyrant, traitor, murderer. (Here the king uttered a startling 'Hah!') Sir, it had been well if any of these terms might justly have been spared." Bradshaw concluded his long speech by protesting that in these proceedings all of them had God before their eyes, and by recommending the repentance of King David as an example proper for the king to imitate. Charles then said hurriedly, "I would desire only one word before you give sentence—only one word." Bradshaw told him that his time was now past. Again the king pressed that they would hear him a word—at most a very few words. Bradshaw again told him that he had not owned their jurisdiction as a court; that he *looked upon them as a sort of people met together*; that they all knew *what language they received from his party*. The king said that he knew nothing of that, and once more begged to be heard: and Bradshaw once more told him that they had given him too much liberty already, and that he ought to repent of his wickedness, and submit to his sentence; and then, raising his sonorous voice, he said,—“What sentence the law affirms to a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a public enemy to the country, that sentence you are now to hear. Make silence! Clerk, read the sentence!” Then the clerk read the sentence, which was—“For all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by severing his head from his body.” Charles raised his eyes to Heaven, and said, “Will you hear me a word, Sir.” “Sir,” replied Bradshaw, “you are not to be heard after sentence.” Charles, greatly agitated, said inquiringly, “No, Sir?” “No, Sir, by your favour,” rejoined the inflexible president; “Guards, withdraw your prisoner.” Still struggling to be heard, Charles said, confusedly, “I may speak after the sentence by your favour, Sir. I may speak after sen-

tence, *ever*. By your favour"—"Hold!" cried Bradshaw. "The sentence, Sir," stammered Charles, "I say, Sir, I do"—Again Bradshaw stopped him with his determined "Hold!" And then the king, muttering, "I am not suffered to speak; expect what justice other people will have," gave up his hopeless efforts, and turned away with his guard; and as he went through the hall there was another cry for justice and execution.

On the evening of the day on which he received his sentence, Charles entreated the commissioners, through the medium, it appears, of Hugh Peters, the republican preacher, to allow him the company of Bishop Juxon; and this was readily granted, as was also the society of the only children he had in England—the Princess Elizabeth, then in her thirteenth, and the Duke of Gloucester, in his ninth year. On Monday, the 29th of January, the House sat early. They passed an act for altering the style and form of all writs, grants, patents, &c., which henceforward, instead of bearing the style and title and head of the king, were to bear "*Custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate parliamenti*," &c. The date was to be the year of our Lord, and no other. The High Court of Justice sat, and appointed the time and place of execution. The king's children came from Sion House to take their last farewell of their father. He took the princess up in his arms and kissed her, and gave her two seals with diamonds, and prayed for the blessing of God upon her, and the rest of his children—and there was a great weeping.* Charles had ever been an indulgent and tender parent. The last night of all was spent by the king in the palace of St. James's, where he slept soundly for more than four hours. Awaking about two hours before the dismal day-break of the 30th of January, he dressed himself with unusual care, and put on an extra shirt because the season was so sharp. He said, "Death is not terrible to me, and, bless my God, I am prepared." He then called in Bishop Juxon, who remained with him an hour in private prayer. About ten o'clock Colonel Hacker, who was commissioned to conduct

* Whitelock.

him to the scaffold, tapped softly at the chamber-door, to say they were ready. They went together from St. James's through the park towards Whitehall, in the front of which the scaffold had been erected. Charles walked erect and very fast, having on the right hand Bishop Juxon, and on the left Colonel Tomlinson, and being followed by a guard of halberdiers and by some of his own gentlemen and servants, who walked bare-headed. There was no shouting, no gesticulating, no turmoil of any kind: the troops, men and officers, the spectators of all ranks, were silent as the grave, save now and then when a prayer or a blessing escaped from some of them. At the end of the park Charles entered Whitehall, and, passing through the long gallery, went into his own old cabinet chamber. There he was delayed, for the scaffold was not quite ready: he passed the time in prayer with the bishop. At last all was ready; and he was led out to the scaffold, which was hung round with black. Vast multitudes of people had come to be spectators: they were all silent, respectful, or awe-stricken; and so were the soldiers. Perceiving that the people could not approach near enough to hear him, he addressed a speech to the gentlemen upon the scaffold. He called God to witness that it was not he but the parliament who had begun the war; he deplored having assented to the death of Strafford, saying that he was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself; he declared that he pardoned his enemies, and died a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as he found it left by his father. Turning to bishop Juxon he said—"I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." He took off his cloak, gave his *George* to Juxon, with the single word "Remember!" then laid his head across the block, and stretched out his hands as a signal. The masked executioner let fall the axe, which severed the neck at one blow; and another man wearing a mask took up the head, and shouted, "This is the head of a traitor!" The bloody deed was accompanied by a "dismal universal grown."*

* Whitelock.—Herbert.—Warwick.—Nelson.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1649.—On the day of the king's execution, the Independents prohibited, under pain of high treason, the proclamation of the Prince of Wales, or any other, to be king or chief magistrate. On the same mournful day, Duke Hamilton escaped with the Lord Loughborough out of Windsor Castle. The house or Rump immediately debated how to bring some of the chief royalists to a speedy trial, and ordered that the vacillating and unprincipled Earl of Holland should be removed to London. Duke Hamilton was retaken the day after his flight. On the 1st of February it was voted that Hamilton and Holland, with Goring, Lord Capel, and Colonel Owen, should be "the next persons to be proceeded against for justice." Capel escaped out of the Tower, but was apprehended two days after.

On the 5th of February the Commons debated till six o'clock at night whether the house of Lords should be continued a court of judicature or a court consultatory only. On the 6th the debate was renewed; and it ended that night in the vote, "that the House of Peers in parliament is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished." Other votes were rapidly passed for demolishing the statues of kings, and for converting England into a republic.

For some time past the real executive had resided in the committee of government at Derby house; and this, with some very immaterial changes, was now converted into the "Executive Council of State." The president of this Council was Bradshaw, the king's judge; and

its secretary for foreign correspondence was Bradshaw's friend and relative, the immortal Milton, who employed his learning and genius in defending the judgment and execution of Charles. Although they had pronounced the doom of the Upper house, the Independents admitted five earls and three lords into this council, which also included Cromwell, Fairfax, Skippon, Sir Harry Vane, General Ludlow, St. John, Harry Martin, Whitelock and four other commoners.

The army remained under the command of the men who had created it and made it the best army then in the world; and Fairfax, though he had abstained from committing himself upon the king's trial, continued to be commander-in-chief. But in the navy an important change was made immediately; the Earl of Warwick was removed, and Blake was appointed, with Dean and Popham, to command the fleet.

The trial of Duke Hamilton, the Lord Capel, Goring, and Sir John Owen, was probably hastened by the hostile demonstrations made in Scotland. Goring pleaded not guilty, and was dismissed for the present, "behaving himself with *great respect* to the Court. On the 6th of March, that court pronounced judgment against the rest. Owen was respited, and ultimately spared. Duke Hamilton, the Lords Holland and Capel were beheaded in Palace yard on the 9th of March.

The first attack that was made upon the new government proceeded from a part of that army which had raised them to their pre-eminence. "Free-born John," who thought that the revolution had not gone half far enough, put forth a vehement pamphlet entitled "England's New Change." Mutinies broke out at Salisbury and Banbury; but they were presently crushed by Fairfax and Cromwell: Lilburne was shut up in the Tower, and some few leaders of a set of madmen, who were sighing after something very like the Republic of the illustrious Trinculo, were committed to meaner prisons.

But the Rump took some of the worst pages out of the book of despotism, entirely losing sight, in several cases, of the principles of liberty they professed. They

made it treason to deny the supremacy of parliament; words spoken were made capital; and simple sedition was converted into high treason. The press was put into its shackles, and extreme penalties were declared against such as printed or published anything against the new Commonwealth, the Council of State, &c.

In the mean time the late king's eldest son had been proclaimed, as Charles the Second, both in Scotland and in Ireland. On the 15th of August, Cromwell, with his son-in-law Ireton, landed near Dublin to suppress the formidable insurrection, and, if possible, to give peace to a country which had never been quiet. His army did not exceed 6000 foot and 3000 horse; but it was an army of Ironsides. When these men landed hardly anything was left to the Protestants except Dublin and Derry; but now town after town was recaptured with the utmost rapidity. Drogheda was stormed on the 11th of September, Cromwell himself fighting in the breach. Wexford was taken in the same manner; Cork, Kinsale, and numerous other places opened their gates. Before the month of May of the following year the Irish papists and royalists were completely subdued by Cromwell and his brave and able son-in-law. Leaving Ireton to organize the country, Cromwell took his departure for London, where his presence was eagerly looked for. He was received with respect by the people and with enthusiasm by the army. He was conducted to the House called the Cock-pit, near St. James's, which had been appointed and prepared for him. Here he was visited by the Lord Mayor of London and by many other persons of quality, who all expressed their own and the nation's great obligations to him. The speaker in an elegant speech gave him the thanks of the House.

In the spring of this year (1650) Montrose, the precursor of Prince Charles or King Charles II., crossed from the continent over to the Orkneys with a few hundred foreign soldiers. In a short time he disembarked on the shores of Caithness with the design of penetrating into the Highlands, and calling his former

followers to his standard. But Montrose was a royalist such as the Presbyterian royalists could not tolerate; the Committee of Estates were well prepared, and Strachan, their general, surprised and thoroughly defeated the Marquess just as he had advanced beyond the pass of Invercarron. Montrose fled from this his last fight, leaving his cloak and star, his sword, and the Garter with which he had been lately invested, behind him. An old friend with whom he sought refuge basely betrayed him to the Covenanters, who bound him with ropes, carried him to Edinburgh, and there, in virtue of a former attainder, hanged him on a gallows thirty feet high. Such was the wretched end of Montrose, in the 30th year of his age, in the middle of the month of May.

Charles landed in the Frith of Cromarty about a month after Montrose was hanged, being constrained to swallow the Covenant as best he could ere he was allowed to set foot on shore. He was joined by the Presbyterian Covenanting army. But he was allowed small time to recruit that army or to do anything else. By the 29th of June, Cromwell had left London and was on his march to the borders, having, three days before, been appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth. On the 22nd of July, having concentrated his troops on the borders, he crossed them and marched into Scotland. The whole country between Berwick and Edinburgh had been swept as with a broom; nothing was left that could yield any comfort or succour to the invaders. He advanced to Dunbar, where he received provisions from English ships. He then proceeded to Haddington, and from Haddington to Edinburgh. He saw no troops on his way, and none would come out from Edinburgh to meet him. Want of provisions, and a sickness which had broken out in his army, compelled him to retreat for Dunbar. The Scots then sallied from their capital, and some of them did not a little mischief to Cromwell's rear. He, however, reached Dunbar, and having shipped his heavy baggage and his sick men, designed

to return into England. But David Lesley and the army of the Kirk had gotten between Dunbar and Berwick, and possessed themselves of all the hills and passes. He had only 12,000 men, while Lesley had 27,000. It was Sunday the 31st of August, when Cromwell drew up on the fields and braes near Dunbar, to gaze at the still increasing numbers and the formidable positions of Lesley's host. Nothing was done that day, but, on the Monday morning, the Scots, urged on by their impatient preachers, who proved by Scripture that their victory was certain, drew down part of their army and their train of artillery towards the foot of the hills; and then Cromwell, who had ever as much Scripture at command as any Presbyterian preacher of them all, exclaimed joyously, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." At an opportune moment a thick mist was dispersed by the rising sun. Cromwell shouted to his Ironsides, "Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered!" And before the sun was much higher the army of the Kirk was scattered, with the tremendous loss of 4000 slain and 10,000 prisoners. The conqueror ordered the 107th Psalm to be sung on the field, and then marched again to Edinburgh, which threw wide its gates at his approach. Glasgow followed the example; and the whole of the south of Scotland quietly submitted. The young king fled towards the Highlands, with the intention of quitting Scotland, or at least the bigoted Covenanters, for ever; but the chiefs of that party made him stay, and prepared to crown him at Scone.

A.D. 1651.—But while Cromwell was besieging Edinburgh castle, disputing upon points of theology with the Presbyterian preachers, and suffering from a fit of the ague, Charles collected another army, and took up a strong position near Stirling. In vain Lambert attempted to bring him to action; the Scots remembered the lesson that had been taught them at Dunbar. Cromwell then crossed the Forth, and sat down before Perth, "thereby to stop the Highlanders from sending any supplies to the king."

But Cromwell had scarcely taken possession of Perth when he learned that Charles had adopted the bold resolution of marching into England. And, in fact, the king left Stirling on the 31st of July, and reached Carlisle on the 6th of August. Cromwell instantly left Scotland in pursuit. As he spurred through the northern counties he encountered a band of royalists, commanded by the Earl of Derby,* and cut them to pieces; and having formed a junction with Harrison, Rich, Fleetwood, and others, he arrived before Worcester on the 28th of August, with a force superior to that of the king, who had penetrated thus far into the heart of England. On the 3rd of September, the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell obtained what he called his "crowning mercy" at Worcester. The royalists were thoroughly defeated, and Charles, escaping with difficulty, fled for his life. After a variety of romantic adventures he, in the disguise of a servant, got to Shoreham on the Sussex coast, and from thence, about the middle of October, he crossed over to France in a collier.

Cromwell was met, at his approach to London, by the Speaker, by the whole parliament, by the lord mayor and aldermen, and by an immense concourse of people. The royal palace of Hampton Court was prepared for his reception; and shortly after an estate worth 4000*l.* a-year was voted to him. As he had left Ireton to complete the settlement of Ireland, so had he left General Monk, who enjoyed an unusual degree of his favour, to

* This firm adherent to the royal cause was taken prisoner a few days after this by a party of the parliamentary troops as he was flying from the battle of Worcester, and was beheaded in his own town of Bolton, by sentence of what was called a High Court of Justice, composed of some military officers, on the 15th of October following. By this time the parliament, considering itself as the established government of the country, assumed the right of treating all armed opposition to its authority by any English subject as treason. The royalists, however, of course regarded such proceedings as nothing less than "murdering in cold blood,"—the expression used on this occasion by Clarendon.

reduce the king's party in Scotland; and both these generals were successful. Both Scotland and Ireland were speedily incorporated, by mutual acts, with the English Commonwealth, and all signs of royalty were effaced in those countries.

Ever since the unavenged massacre at Amboyna, the English sailors and people had borne great ill-will to the Dutch. Moreover, the government of the United Provinces had treated the new English Commonwealth with marked disrespect. On their side the Commonwealth men had passed the memorable Navigation Act, which established as national law, that no goods from any quarter beyond Europe should be imported into England except by vessels belonging to England or to English colonies; and that no production of Europe should be imported except by English ships, or ships belonging to the country which furnished the production. This deadly blow was aimed at the carrying-trade of the Dutch, one of the most fruitful sources of their commercial prosperity. There were many other grounds of quarrel between the two Commonwealths. A collision was inevitable. Van Tromp, the best of the Dutch admirals, sailed up the Channel with forty-sail. Blake was in the Downs with only twenty sail, but he insisted that the Dutch should strike their topmasts to his flag, in acknowledgment of the old sovereignty of England over the narrow seas. Van Tromp refused, and kept his course. When he came abreast of him Blake fired a gun at the Dutch flag: Van Tromp replied by pouring a whole broadside into Blake. Then the action commenced in earnest. It lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon till nightfall, when the Dutch sheered off, with the loss of two ships. This was on the 19th of May, 1652. On the 19th of July the English parliament put forth an open and spirited declaration of war. The English seamen supported the honour of their new flag in many obstinate and sanguinary engagements. Blake was a second Drake. On the 29th of November, when he had been obliged to divide his fleet, and when he had only thirty-seven ships with him, Van Tromp faced him

in the Downs with eighty men-of-war, and ten fire-ships. The battle lasted from ten in the morning till six at night, when darkness put an end to it. The Dutch had taken a frigate, had burned another, and had sunk three more ; but one of their flag-ships had been blown up, and the ships of Van Tromp and de Ruyter greatly damaged. Van Tromp claimed the victory, and clapped a broom to his mast-head to intimate that he meant to sweep the English navy from the seas.

A.D. 1653.—On the 18th of February, Blake again brought Van Tromp to action in the channel. They fought nearly the whole of that day—they renewed the fight on the morrow—they fought again the day after that. At the end of this three days' fight the English admiral had taken or destroyed eleven ships of war and thirty merchantmen. Upon the return of the humbled Van Tromp, the common people in the Dutch provinces fell all into uproar and tumult.

But while the Commonwealth was thus triumphing on its proper element, the Rump parliament was falling into disrepute in the country. They had not, except to a very limited degree, filled up the vacancies in the House of Commons, feeling that any election, however managed, would leave them in a minority ; and though, at the instance of Cromwell, they had, in November 1651, decided that the present parliament should cease, in November 1654, they continued to act as if they contemplated no dissolution, as if they considered their power to be perpetual. It was only of the army, which had made them what they were, that they were jealous ; and while Cromwell, whose control over the army was absolute, urged them to give up their power, they urged Cromwell to reduce the army. If there were personal ambition, and the intoxication of power, on both sides, there were certainly on both sides—as well on that of Cromwell as on that of the Vanes, the Martins, and the other Commonwealth men,—high, unselfish, noble, and patriotic motives. Each, in fact, wished for power as the means of establishing or working out a system which each deemed the best for the peace, the happiness,

and the glory of the nation; and, in justice to Oliver Cromwell, it must be avowed that his scheme of social policy was in itself one of the purest which had as yet entered into the mind of any statesman, and one that adapted itself more readily to the character and habits of the community than the more finely drawn theories of the republicans. This wonderful man had certainly a long and doubtful struggle, not merely with his former friends, but now republican opponents, but also with his own heart and conscience; and he was quiet, or at least he abstained from any very open act, until the parliament betrayed an intention of coalescing with the Presbyterians, who hated and abhorred alike Cromwell, the parliament, and religious liberty. In a private conversation with Whitelock, now keeper of the great seal, Oliver unbosomed himself. He said that both army and people began to have a strange distaste for the members of parliament. "And really" said he, "their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking; their engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; their daily breaking forth into new and violent factions; their delay of business, and design to perpetuate themselves; their injustice and partiality, and the scandalous lives of some of them, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths." Whitelock agreed with him that, unless things were put into some better order, it would be impossible to prevent the ruin of the country; but the cautious lawyer saw nothing but difficulty and danger in contending with the parliament, whose power had been admitted as supreme. After some more discourse, Cromwell put this significant question—"What if a man should take upon him to be king?" Whitelock replied, that he thought that remedy would be worse than the disease. But Cromwell, still clinging to the notion of kingship, told Whitelock that he had heard some lawyers observe that by the act of Henry VII.'s time there was more security for those who acted under a king, *be his title what it might*, than for those who acted under any other power. "And surely," he continued, "the power of a king is so great and high, and so universally understood and reve-

renced by the people of this nation, that the name of it might not only indemnify those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolencies of those whom the present powers cannot control." Whitelock rejoined, that if their enemies should get the upper hand of them, that act of parliament of Henry VII. would be little regarded. "But what do you apprehend would be the danger of this title?" asked Cromwell. Whitelock stated many dangers and difficulties, and concluded his long discourse by recommending Oliver to open negotiations with Charles Stuart, the King of Scots, with the view of restoring him to the throne of England upon such conditions as would put proper limits to the monarchical power and secure the spiritual and civil liberties of the country. But Cromwell remembered the private treaties he had had with Charles I., and of the character and principles of Charles II. he entertained the worst opinion. He broke off the conference, "seeming by his countenance and carriage to be displeased with what had been said, yet he never objected it against Whitelock in any public meeting afterwards: only his carriage towards him from that time was altered."* Other conferences took place between Cromwell, St. John, Lenthall the speaker, Desborough, Harrison, Fleetwood, and Whalley; and to all these men the Lord General declared that a "settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." It was debated how the present parliament might be dissolved and a new one chosen. An unshackled election was out of the question; the Presbyterians so returned would alone have more than doubled the number of the Independents or republicans, who would have been voted to the Tower or the scaffold, or again obliged to call in Cromwell's pikes and muskets. Yet, hoping to thwart the Lord General and prolong their own power by a coalition with their enemies, the Rump adopted the resolution of bringing in to the new parliament a number of Presbyterians under the name of "Neutrals." This brought matters to a head. Cromwell

* Whitelock, Memorials.

and the officers of the army declared that these Presbyterians would betray them to the royalists and destroy the religious liberty which they had won for the country. On the 19th of April there was a great meeting at Cromwell's lodgings in Whitehall, as well of some parliament men as of officers of the army. Those discussions, which lasted till late in the night, were renewed on the morrow morning—the memorable 20th of April—but while they were in progress news was brought them from the House, that the Commons were hurrying through their obnoxious bill, with all its clauses about Neutrals, &c. The members present at the meeting in Cromwell's lodgings instantly ran down to the House, and Cromwell, greatly excited, commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers to accompany him. He then marched away to the House, attended by Lambert, a few other officers, and a file of musketeers, whom he left in the lobby. Going, then, straight to his seat, he sat for some time in silence, listening to the debate; but when the Speaker was about to put the motion, he beckoned Harrison to him, and said, "Now is the time! I must do it." Harrison, a religious enthusiast, advised him to consider what he was doing. He sat down, paused for a minute, then rose, and, removing his hat from his head, began a speech to the question before the House. Soon growing warm, he told them that they were deniers of justice, oppressors, self-seekers, openly profane men. Sir Harry Vane or Sir Peter Wentworth, or both, rose to remonstrate, and told him that this was not parliamentary language. "I know it," cried Cromwell; who then rushed from his seat to the stage or floor in the midst of the House, where he walked up and down, with his hat on his head, reproaching the members personally, not naming them, but showing by his gestures who it was he meant. Pointing at Vane, he said, "One person might have prevented all this, but he is a juggler, and hath not so much as common honesty. The Lord hath done with him, however, and chosen honestest and worthier instruments for carrying on his work." Vane, Wentworth, and Harry Martin raised their voices. "I'll put an end to your prating," shouted

Cromwell; "you are no parliament: I'll put an end to your sitting. Get ye gone! Give way to honest men." And stamping with his foot heavily upon the floor, the door opened, and his musketeers rushed in and surrounded him. Then pointing to the Speaker in his chair, he said to Harrison, "Fetch him down." Harrison went to the Speaker, and bade him come down; but the Speaker sat still, and said nothing. "Take him down," cried Cromwell! and then Harrison pulled at his robe, and the Speaker came down. Algernon Sydney, that staunch republican, and then a young member, happened that day to be seated next to the Speaker. "Put *him* out," cried Cromwell to Harrison, who was as active in ending the parliament as Pride had been in purging it. Harrison instantly ordered Sydney to go out. But Sydney said he would not go out; and sat still till the General said again, "Put him out;" and Harrison and Worsley, who commanded Cromwell's own regiment of foot, laid their hands upon his shoulders, as if they would force him. Then Sydney rose, and went towards the door; and Cromwell went up to the table where the mace lay, and, pointing to it, cried, "Take away that bauble." As the members withdrew, Alderman Allen said that, if he would send out the soldiers, all might yet be repaired; but Cromwell replied by accusing the alderman of embezzlement and dishonesty in his office as treasurer to the army. And, pointing to them as he spoke, he called Challoner a drunkard, Sir Peter Wentworth an adulterer, and his old friend Harry Martin a whoremaster. As Vane passed he said aloud to Cromwell, "This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" was the general's retort. And thus the House was soon cleared; "for," says Whitelock, who was present, "among all the parliament, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance against him, but all of them tamely departed the House." When they were all gone, the doors were locked, and Cromwell, with the keys in his pocket,

walked quietly back to his lodgings at Whitehall. "When I went to the House," said he, "I did not think to have done this; but perceiving the Spirit of God strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." In the afternoon of the same day, being accompanied by Harrison and Lambert, he went to Derby House, and turned out the Council of State that were there sitting under the presidency of Bradshaw.

Proclamations were issued containing the grounds and reasons for dissolving the late parliament and calling a new one. But it was not till nearly three months had elapsed that people saw what sort of "known persons, fearing God, and of approved integrity," Cromwell chose to hold under him the legislative power of the nation. One hundred and thirty-nine persons for the counties and towns of England, six for Wales, five for Scotland, and six for Ireland, were summoned by writ, running simply in his own name, to meet in the council-chamber at Whitehall, and take upon them the trust of providing for the future government. And on the 4th of July about one hundred and twenty of these individuals of his own selecting met at the place appointed. It was, on the whole, an assemblage of men of good family or of military distinction, "many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge;"* but, mixed with these, were some persons of inferior rank, who were recommended by their religious enthusiasm, their dislike of the Presbyterians, and their influence over the common people and sectarians. Of these the most noted was one Barbone, a dealer in leather, whose name, converted into Barebone, was afterwards applied to the whole parliament, though the more common appellation for that assemblage was "The Little Parliament."† These members being seated round the

* Whitelock.

† Nearly all the ridiculous names given to the Independents of this time, as "Redeemed Compton," "Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith White," "If-Christ-had-not-died-thou-hadst-been-damned Barebones," are pure inventions made fifty years after by a clergyman of the established church. Sir

council-table, Cromwell and the officers of the army standing about the middle of the table, the lord-general made a very long and very devout speech, showing the cause of their summons, and that they had "a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the Commonwealth," and quoting Scripture most copiously to admonish and encourage them to do their duties.

When Cromwell had ended his long and devout speech, he produced an instrument in writing, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of the Commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met, but stipulating that they should not sit longer than the 3rd of November, 1654, and that three months before the dissolution they were to make choice of other righteous persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than a year, and then to dissolve themselves after providing in like manner for a succession and government. And delivering this instrument into their hands, his excellency commended them to the grace of God, and so departed. The Little Parliament adjourned until the next morning, having voted that the morrow should be kept with fasting and prayer. At an early hour they met in the old parliament house, and fasted and prayed and preached—"not finding any necessity to call for the help of a minister,"—till about six o'clock in the evening. On the 6th of July, the second day of their sitting, the question was put, "that the House go on in seeking the Lord this day," but it was negatived, and Monday, the 11th, was fixed for that holy exercise.

Yet when they put themselves in business motion this Little Parliament was soon found too quick. They voted the abolition of the High Court of Chancery; they nominated a set of commissioners to preside in courts of justice; and they aimed a death-blow at tithes, without taking much care to provide an equivalent. They entertained

Antony Ashley Cooper, afterwards so celebrated as Earl of Shaftesbury, was a member of this parliament.

also other projects which alarmed their nominator, who could never command a steady majority either in this or in any other of his parliaments; and on the 12th of December, little more than five months after their first meeting, they were prevailed upon by the manœuvres of Cromwell to dissolve themselves, and surrender their trust into his hands.

Then the lord-general held a council of officers, and, certain other persons being joined with them to advise, it was resolved to have a Commonwealth in a *single person*—"which person should be the Lord-General Cromwell, under the title and dignity of Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to be advised and assisted by a council of godly, able, and discreet persons, to be not more than twenty-one." And, accordingly, as Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell was solemnly inaugurated on the 16th of December, being seated in a chair of state, which looked very like a throne, in the midst of the Court of Chancery. The prerogatives which were conferred upon him, or rather which were taken by himself, were almost regal. The supreme legislative authority was declared to be and reside in the Lord Protector and parliament. All commissions, patents, writs, processes, &c. were to run in the name and style of the Lord Protector, from whom, for the future, should be derived all magistracy and honours, and all pardons, except in cases of murder and treason. The militia, and all forces both by sea and land, during the sitting of parliament, were to be in his and their hands, but, in the intervals of parliament, in his and the council's only. The powers of making war and peace were to remain with him and his council. The new parliament was to consist of 400 English, 30 Scots, and 30 Irish members. The council of government was to consist of Philip lord viscount Lisle, Charles Fleetwood, esq., John Lambert, esq., Sir Gilbert Pickering, baronet, Sir Charles Wolsey, baronet, Sir Antony Ashley Cooper, baronet, Edward Montague, John Desborough, Walter Strickland, Henry Lawrence, William Sydenham, Philip Jones, Richard Major, Francis

Rous, and Philip Skipton, esquires. The office of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth was declared to be for life.

In the interval which had elapsed since the forcible expulsion of the Rump, the maritime war had been conducted with great vigour and success—the English fleet having, according to a pun of those days, out-trumped Van Tromp. This Neptune of the Dutch came in the Downs with a fleet of 108 sail. On the 2nd of June, 1653, Generals Monk and Dean engaged him; on the 3rd the gallant Blake came up and decided the action. The Dutch lost seventeen of their ships, which were sunk or taken. The English lost not a ship, but General Dean unfortunately fell in the first day of the action. By the 29th of July Van Tromp again got to sea, and with 120 ships. On Sunday morning, the 31st of July, Monk and Blake encountered him with an inferior force. This was by far the most terrible and decisive of all these great sea-fights. It lasted five hours, at the closest quarters. Van Tromp was killed by a musket-shot; the Dutch lost thirty ships, the English only two. It put an end to the war, and allowed the Protector time to attend to business at home.

The French government now made haste to congratulate the Lord Protector, and engaged to dismiss the family of the late King Charles from France. Spain made a tender of friendship or alliance. Portugal, which had, in effect, been at open war with the Commonwealth, sent over an ambassador to negotiate for a peace with Cromwell. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to that Portuguese envoy, killed a mad English royalist in an affray near the Royal Exchange. Don Pantaleon fled for refuge to the house of his brother, who pleaded the ancient ambassadorial right of making it an asylum. But Cromwell made the ambassador deliver up the offender, and without heeding prayers, promises, or threats, sent him to be tried by a jury, which, for more fairness, consisted of six Englishmen and six foreigners. The jury returned a verdict of guilty; and on the 10th of July the head of Don Pantaleon was chopped off on Tower Hill. Notwithstanding

this catastrophe, the Portuguese ambassador was fain to sign the treaty of peace with the Lord Protector; and having so done he made haste to get away from a country where the laws and the ruler would make no distinction of persons.

At this time the authority, if not the life of Cromwell was threatened by some of the discontented republican officers of the army; and he justified himself by the necessity of the case in imprisoning a few of those men. Ireland remained tolerably tranquil under his lieutenants, and subsequently under the rule of his second son Henry Cromwell, who displayed great ability as a statesman and organizer. But in Scotland the Highlanders for the most part defied the authority of the Commonwealth; the Lords Glencairn, Athol, Lorne, and Balcarras kept the standard of Charles II. flying, and, upon being joined by General Middleton, from the continent, they assumed a very menacing attitude. But when General Monk, reappointed by Cromwell to the chief command in Scotland, returned to that country after his victories over the Dutch, he quelled the Highland insurrection with infinite ease, and compelled Middleton to run back to his exiled master. Yet it appears that, as early as this at least, Charles was tampering with Monk.

On the 3rd of September the members of the new parliament assembled, and heard a long sermon in Westminster Abbey. This day, though a Sunday, had been chosen because it was the anniversary of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and because Cromwell considered it as his lucky day. On the morrow, after another sermon, the members followed Cromwell to the Painted Chamber. There the Protector took his seat in a chair of state—as like a throne as it well might be—the members, all uncovered, sat upon benches round about him; and, all being silent, “his highness” took off his hat, and made “a large and subtle speech.” He spoke to them of the great danger resulting from the anarchic principles of the Levellers, and the fantastic opinions of the Fifth Monarchy men, who, if left to themselves, would destroy liberty, property, law, and rational religion,

in order to introduce their wild systems of government under the mask of the most sacred of all liberties—the liberty of conscience. [These Fifth Monarchy men confidently expected that the Millennium was at hand, that Christ was coming, and that they, as the blessed saints, were to hold under him the exclusive dominion of the whole world.] He went on to tell them that there had been too much subverting and undoing; that “overturn, overturn, overturn,” was a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify all kinds of evil practices; that the enemies of civil and religious liberty were not idle, but were seeking every instant to profit by internal dissensions. He took credit to himself—and not without good reason—for the successful and glorious termination of the Dutch war, for the strict and unimpeded course of justice, for the excellent men he had nominated as judges, and for the checks he had given to the preachers of fanaticism and anarchy. When Cromwell had done speaking, the members went to their house; elected the old Speaker, Lenthall; re-appointed several of the officers of the Long Parliament, and named the 13th of September as a day of humiliation. But, on the morrow, they called in question the recent constitution, or “instrument of government,” by appointing a committee of privileges, and by moving that the house should deliberate whether the legislative power should or should not be in a single person and a parliament. Many violent speeches were made against the Protector, and against nearly every part of this new constitution. At the end of eight days Cromwell summoned all the members before him in the Painted Chamber, and there gave them to understand that neither his authority nor any fundamental portion of the new constitution was to be altered or called in question. “I called not myself to this place,” said the Protector; “I say, again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness. If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it.” In the end he proposed a test or recognition of his government, which must be signed by them all. The test was simply in

these words :—" I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland ; and shall not (according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one person and a parliament." About 130 members subscribed it immediately, and went back to their seats in the house, when they adjourned for one day, to give time for the rest to sign it. In the course of the day Major-General Harrison, who had returned to his republicanism, was arrested by a party of horse. On the 14th of September many more of the members subscribed the recognition. On the 18th the House voted that all persons returned to serve in this present parliament should, before they were admitted to sit, subscribe the test or recognition. Yet, after this, they proceeded to call in question the fundamental principles of the new constitution, and to aim side blows at the Protectoral authority and prerogative.

A.D. 1656.—Nearly five months had now elapsed since this parliament began its sitting, " in all which time they did much in doing nothing." They had not presented a single bill to the Protector ; they had not honoured him with the slightest communication ; they had not voted him a sixpence to meet the expenses of government. On the 22nd of January Cromwell summoned them before him, to tell them that it was not for the profit of these nations that they should continue any longer : and that, therefore, he did dissolve this parliament.

The country was getting into a very disorderly state. A few days after the dissolution Cromwell discovered the particulars of an extensive plot, wherein many of the king's party and some of the levelling party were engaged, and were acting in strange concert, each hoping, in the end, to dupe the other. In several counties small armed parties began to gather into a body, and attempts were made to surprise and seize three or four towns and castles. It was suspected that these movements had been countenanced by the late parliament. Cromwell arrested Major Wildman,

one of these parliamentarians, and sent him to Chepstowe castle. At the moment of his arrest this Wildman was found dictating—"The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England now in Arms against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esquire." In the month of March there were some insurrections in the west of England; but they were put down by a regiment of Cromwell's horse: Penruddock, Grove, and Lucas were executed; and the prisons in those parts were filled with royalists. The Earl of Rochester came over from Charles II., made a feeble attempt in Yorkshire, and then fled for his life. Similar attempts, some made by royalists, some made by republicans, failed in other places. But these insurrections and plots, which at one time extended from the Scottish Highlands to the hills of Cornwall, made the Protector adopt a rigid system of military government. He divided England and Wales into eleven districts, over each of which he placed a major-general with very extensive powers, as well civil as military.

In the plenitude of his power the Protector demanded from Spain that no Englishman should ever be subject to the Inquisition, and that the West Indies and the South American continent should be thrown open to his flag, with a free trade to all English subjects. The Spanish ambassador told him that this was like asking for the king of Spain's two eyes.* He sent forth a gallant fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Penn, with a land army under General Venables; and this expedition, which had alarmed nearly all the courts of Europe, took and secured the very important island of Jamaica. At the same time, a second fleet, under Blake, put down the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean, and exacted indemnities from the grand-duke of Tuscany. Cromwell, who was accustomed to say that a ship of the line was the best ambassador—that he could make the thunder of his cannon in the Mediterranean be heard with terror by the pope in Rome,—next interfered in favour of the persecuted Waldenses, a Protestant people dwelling in the

* Thurloe, State Papers.

upper valleys of Piedmont. In this negotiation, as in many others, Cromwell was assisted by the pen of Milton. He could scarcely make his sea-cannon even heard at Turin by the Duke of Savoy, the sovereign of Piedmont and the persecutor of the Waldenses; but Cromwell was engaged in a treaty with the French, and he refused to sign it until Cardinal Mazarin, who was said to fear the Protector much more than he did the devil, had read a lesson of toleration to the court of Savoy, and had obtained from it a solemn engagement to grant to the Protestant mountaineers liberty of conscience and the restoration of all their ancient rights. Then Cromwell finished his treaty with his *brother* the king of France, and declared war against the king of Spain. In this naval war against the Spaniards Blake was again the hero; and he and his captains presently began to fill the ports of England with rich prizes.

Encouraged by these successes Cromwell ventured to call a third parliament, which he opened on the 17th of September, 1656, after rejecting nearly 100 of the members elected. In this "purified" assembly money was voted liberally, and other bills were passed according to the Lord Protector's desire. A conspiracy, in which one Syndercombe, who had been quarter-master to Monk, undertook to assassinate the Protector, and the discovery of a correspondence between some of the republicans and the court of Madrid, hurried on the debates and events which we have now to relate.

A.D. 1657.—It had long been felt that any parliament of one chamber or house was a mere nullity, or something worse, and that, as affairs stood, there was nothing but the single life of Cromwell between comparative tranquillity and prosperity and civil war and anarchy; and many men in the present parliament had seriously deliberated upon the restoration of the House of Lords and of hereditary monarchy. At length a member openly proposed in the House that his highness the Protector should be begged to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. Shortly after this, Sir Christopher Pack suggested, without peri-

phrasis, that, as the best way of settling the nation, the Lord Protector should be desired to assume the title of King! The republican and military members rose in a great fury, and forced Pack from his seat down to the bar of the House. But Pack had many friends, and they rose to assist him, and in spite of much violence and tumult, a paper he held in his hand was read to the House. Its purport was to denounce the military government of the eleven major-generals, and to urge the Protector to assume a higher title, and to put himself at the head of a government which should be managed with the advice of *two* houses of parliament. Forthwith it was voted by a majority of 100 to 44 that the motion should be discussed; and it was debated day after day from the 23rd of February to the 26th of March. Pack's paper was finally adopted by the House, who changed its title into that of "The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland." On the last day of the debate a blank left for the title to be borne by Cromwell was filled up with the word "KING" by the decision of 123 against 62. On the 4th of April the paper was presented to his highness at Whitehall by the Speaker and the House, who desired "that his highness would be pleased to magnify himself with the title of King." Six or seven members were appointed to persuade his highness thereto. Cromwell, having listened to the persuasive members, urged his reasons against their arguments, declaring that he did not find it his duty to God and the country to accept the proposed new title. He desired time to reflect upon this part of "the great machine of England's government;" but, as to the second great clause of the Commons' paper which recalled into existence the house of peers, he did not hesitate for a moment. He was convinced that a parliament of one house was like a bird with only one wing—he was willing, he was happy that there should be two houses.*

These proceedings were interrupted by the discovery

* Whitelock.—Burton's Diary.

of a terrible plot of the Fifth Monarchy men, who had resolved that there should be no king but King Jesus, and no parliament, but a Sanhedrim, to consist entirely of saints,—that is, of themselves. These madmen were seized and sent to the Tower.* Then, on the 12th of April, a committee of the House waited again upon the Lord Protector to request him to be king. They got no answer. On the 16th the committee would have repeated their visit; but Cromwell put them off to another day, being busy in examining the plot. On the 20th, upon Whitelock's motion, the committee were again ordered to wait upon his highness. Here Whitelock himself says, "The Protector was satisfied in his private judgment that it was fit for him to take upon him the title of king, and matters were prepared in order thereunto; but afterwards, by solicitation of the commonwealth men, and fearing a mutiny and defection of a great part of the army in case he should assume that title and office, his mind changed; and many of the officers of the army gave out high threatenings against him in case he should do it; he therefore thought best to attend some better season and opportunity in this business, and refused it at this time, with great seeming earnestness." And, indeed, Cromwell's assumption of hereditary royalty was most strenuously opposed not merely by Lambert, who entertained the hope of succeeding him in the protectorship, but also by his own brother-in-law Desborough, his son-in-law Fleetwood, his old instrument Colonel Pride, and above 100 officers of name and influence. These men declared that the offer of a kingly title was but a trap to ensnare and destroy him. They sent up a startling petition or remonstrance to the House, vowing that they who had hazarded their lives against monarchy were still ready to do so in defence of the liberties of the nation.† Therefore, if Cromwell had set his heart upon the mere title of king (the power he had), he was disappointed, and obliged to recede. On the 19th of May, after he had

* Thurloe, State Papers.

† Ludlow.—Memoirs

✱ submitted several papers to the House, it was voted that his title should continue to be that of Lord Protector. But, in withholding the crown, the Commons proceeded to give him the right of appointing his successor in the protectorate. This was done on the 22nd of May; and on the same day they begged him to create the "other House," the members to be such as should be nominated by his highness and approved by the Commons. In the same instrument the Lord Protector was heartily thanked for restoring peace and tranquillity, although environed by enemies abroad, and unquiet spirits at home.

When the clerk of the parliament had read this long instrument, Cromwell, after a solemn speech, said, "The Lord Protector doth consent." On the 25th of June the parliament ordered the master of the ceremonies to give notice to foreign ambassadors of the inauguration of the Protector; and on the next day that ceremony was performed with pomp and circumstance little inferior to those which attend a coronation. And after many stately ceremonies and a long prayer, "the heralds, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed his highness Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging; requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. Hereupon the trumpets sounded again, and the people (after the usual manner) gave several acclamations, with loud shouts, crying, "'God save the Lord Protector!' At the end of all, the Protector, with his train, returned to Whitehall, and the members to the parliament-house, where they prorogued their sitting to the next January."*

The court and the manner of life of Cromwell continued quiet and modest as they ever had been; not wanting, however, a certain sober dignity, which was more imposing than the tinsel and parade of most royalties. Everything at Hampton Court, his favourite residence, had an air of sobriety and decency: there was no riot, no debauchery, seen or heard of; yet it was not a

* Perfect Politician.—Whitelock.

dull place, the Protector's humour being naturally of a cheerful turn. "He was a great lover of music, and entertained the most skilful in that science in his pay and family. He respected all persons that were eximious in any art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him. Sometimes he would, for a frolic, before he had half dined, give order for the drum to beat and call in his foot-guards, who were permitted to make booty of all they found on the table. Sometimes he would be jocund with some of the nobility, and would tell them what company they had lately kept; when and where they had drunk the king's health and the royal family's; bidding them, when they did it again, to do it more privately; and this without any passion, and as festivous, droll discourse."* He delighted especially to surround himself with the master-minds of his age and country—with men who have left immortal names behind them. Milton, the Latin Secretary, was his familiar; honest Andrew Marvel was his frequent guest: Waller was his friend and kinsman; nor was the more youthful genius of Dryden excluded. Hartlib, a native of Poland, the bosom-friend of Milton, and the advocate of education, was honoured and pensioned; and so was Usher, the learned and amiable archbishop, notwithstanding his prelacy; and John Biddle, called the father of English Unitarians, received an allowance of a hundred crowns a-year. Even the fantastic, plotting Catholic, Sir Kenelm Digby, was among the Protector's guests, and received support or assistance, on account, chiefly, of his literary merits. The general course of the Protector's government was mild and just.

About six weeks after Cromwell's inauguration he was afflicted by receiving the news of the death of the brave Blake, who, with wonderful success, had asserted in all seas the supremacy of the British flag,—who had done the most eminent service to parliament, to commonwealth, to the Protector,—who had been the "first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the

* Perfect Politician.

science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had long been in practice to keep his ship and men out of danger, which had been held, in former times, a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come safe home again, —the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, —the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water.”* “The last part he ever acted in a sea of blood,” says a quaint but spirited and correct narrator, “was against the Spaniards at Santa Cruz: here, with twenty-five sail, he fought (as it were in a ring) with seven forts, a castle, and sixteen ships, many of them being of greater force than most of those ships Blake carried in against them: yet, in spite of opposition, he soon calcined the enemy and brought his fleet back again to the coast of Spain full fraught with honour.”† But his constitution was now worn out by long services and by the sea-scurvy; and he “who

* Clarendon.

† Perfect Politician.—The writer of this rich little volume adds, “He was a man wholly devoted to his country’s service, resolute in his undertakings, and most faithful in the performance: with him, valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment. When news was brought him of a metamorphosis in the state at home he would then encourage the seamen to be most vigilant abroad. For (said he) ’tis not our duty to mind state affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us. In all his expeditions the wind seldom deceived him, but most an end stood his friend; especially in his last undertaking at the Canary Islands. To his last he lived a single life, never being espoused to any but his country’s quarrels. As he lived bravely, he died gloriously, and was buried in Henry VII.’s Chapel; yet enjoying at this time no other monument but what is reared by his valour, which time itself can hardly deface.” Whitelock tells us that Blake’s funeral was performed with great solemnity, and that at the time of it new plots were discovered.

would never strike to any other enemy, struck his top-mast to Death" as he was entering Plymouth Sound.

The Protector, drawing more closely to France, according to a private agreement, had prepared troops to join the French army under Turenne; and six thousand foot were sent over to Boulogne under the command of Sir John Reynolds and Colonel Morgan. These red-coats marched with Turenne into Spanish Flanders, and took Mardick. In the course of the following winter, while the English were in quarters, the Duke of York, the late king's second son, took the field suddenly with a strong body of Spaniards, and endeavoured to drive the English out of Mardick; but he was repulsed with great loss. Abandoned and cast out by the French, and hoping little from the Spaniards, Charles II., who was quite capable of meaner things, offered to espouse one of Cromwell's daughters; but the Lord Protector told Orrery, who recommended the match, that Charles was so damnably debauched, he would undo them all.*

A.D. 1658.—On the 20th of January the parliament met according to their adjournment, and received into the House their fellow members who had been prevented from taking their seats in the preceding session; this being done upon the fourth article of "The Petition and Advice," by which it was provided that no member legally chosen should be excluded from performance of his duty, but by consent of parliament. In the interval of the parliament's sitting, the Protector had provided his peers who were to make up the other House, and these quasi-lords had been summoned by the same form of writs which had formerly been used for calling the peers to parliament. They were in all sixty, and among them were several noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient family and good estates, the rest being for the most part colonels and officers of the army. Foremost on the list appear the names of the Lord Richard Cromwell, the Protector's eldest son, the Lord Henry Cromwell, his other son, lord deputy of

* Burnet.—Orrery's Letters.

Ireland, Nathaniel Fiennes, Fleetwood, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Mulgrave, the Earl of Manchester, Lord Eure, Viscount Saye, Viscount Lisle, Lord John Claypole, Charles Viscount Howard, Lord Wharton, Lord Falconbridge, General Monk, commander-in-chief of his highness's forces in Scotland, and Lord Edward Montague; and Whitelock, Haselrig, Whalley, Barkstead, Pride, Goff, Sir Christopher Pack, the ex-lord mayor of London, St. John, and other old friends of the Protector, were among the remainder.* If Cromwell had been ever so much disposed to call upon the old peers, and if that aristocracy had been ever so well inclined to obey the summons, such a measure was rendered impracticable by the last constitutional instrument, "The Petition and Advice," expressly stipulating that the members of "the Other House" should be subject to the same excluding clauses as the members of the House of Commons; and with this additional bar, that all the members of that other House, though nominated by his highness, must be approved by the Commons. But nearly every possible circumstance set strongly against the revival of the ancient Upper House; the vast majority of the peers had been devoted to the late king, and even the feeble minority of their number that remained at London with the parliament had refused taking any part in the king's trial; with the exception of a few united to him by old ties of friendship, or by their marrying into his family, there was not a single old peer that would trust Cromwell, or that he could trust. Not yet accustomed to this kind of recent creations, they disdained to sit in a House with men who had made their fortune with their sword or by their genius in war or law. Even the Earl of Warwick, who had gone along with the commonwealth men in most things, and whose grandson and presumed heir had married one of the Protector's daughters, declared that he could not sit in the same assembly with Colonel Hewson, who had been a shoemaker, and

* Thurloe, State Papers.—Whitelock.

Colonel Pride, who had been a drayman. And Manchester, Saye, and the other members of the old House of Lords who had been named, contemptuously kept aloof, not one of them, it should appear, taking his seat except Lord Eure. The rest of the members of the other House took their seats as the old lords used to do formerly, and the Protector went thither to open the session according to the ancient and royal form. And the Speaker, with the House of Commons, being sent for by the black rod, came to the Lords' House, where the Protector made a solemn speech to them, "but was short by reason of his indisposition of health." * Indeed, at the opening of this stormy session, wherein he was to be assaulted on all sides by his old Presbyterian enemies and by his old friends the Independents, who had become his worst enemies, his iron constitution was giving way under the effect of labour, anxiety, and grief: his daughter, the Lady Claypole, the darling of his heart, was visibly declining, and in no human heart were the domestic affections ever stronger than in that of this wonderful man. When he had done the Lord Commissioner Fiennes harangued "my lords and gentlemen of both the most honourable Houses of Parliament," quoting Scripture most copiously, yet not more copiously than was sanctioned by the then general custom. From hearing this long discourse, the Commons returned to their own House with irritated and hostile feelings; and there it was soon seen that the Protector, by removing so many of his friends to "the other House," had left himself in a deplorable minority in this; and also that those members who had taken their seats by virtue of, and in acknowledgment of, "The Petition and Advice," were determined to destroy that last instrument of government, and to aim their first blows at the new House, which was an integral and essential part of that constitution. The attack was led by Haselrig, who, though nominated to "the Other House," persisted in retaining his place in the Commons; by Scot, a most resolute

* Whitelock.

republican; and by others who detested any approach to the old aristocratic House of Lords. On the fourth day of the session a message "from the Lords," delivered by two of the judges, who all attended as formerly in the Upper House, desired the concurrence of the Commons in an address to the Protector for a day of humiliation and fast. The Commons vehemently protested against the title assumed in the message, and would admit of no other than that of "the Other House." On the morrow, the 25th of January, upon a letter from the Protector to the Speaker of the House of Commons, they met his highness in the Banqueting House, and there he exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own laws and rules in "The Petition and Advance." Whitelock adds that he gave them a state of the public accounts and much good advice. But all this was of no avail; the majority in the Commons persevered in their attack, and presently broached the doctrine that the new House was, and must be, a mere dependency of the Commons—a thing invested with certain functions of legislature, and with nothing more—that it could never be a co-ordinate power with the Commons. Scot raked up the whole history of the peers since the commencement of the civil war; and then coming to the grand crisis, he said, "The lords would not join in the trial of the king. We must lay things bare and naked. We were either to lay all that blood of ten years' war upon ourselves, or upon some other object. We called the king of England to our bar, and arraigned him. He was for his obstinacy and guilt condemned and executed; and so let all the enemies of God perish! The House of Commons had a good conscience in it. Upon this, the Lords' House adjourned, and never met, and hereby came a farewell of all those peers."* Nor did Scot and his associates limit their attack to the other House to mere declamation and oratory; they assaulted the protectorate itself, and a petition was circulated in the city by them and

* Burton.

by some officers of the army for the purpose of abolishing Cromwell's all but kingly office. "All these passages," says Whitelock, "tended to their own destruction, which it was not difficult to foresee." Accordingly, on the 4th of February, the Protector, without any intimation of his purpose, went down to the House of Lords early in the morning, summoned the Commons before him, and ended a short, complaining speech with saying:—"I do dissolve this parliament, and let God judge between me and you." And thus ended Cromwell's last parliament, which had sat only fourteen days.

The Protector was never in so much danger as at this moment: the republicans and their friends "were ready both with arms and men to fall in with swords in their hands;" the army was murmuring for want of pay; the royalists were spirited and combined by means of the Marquess of Ormond, who, during the sitting of parliament, had passed several days in disguise and concealment in the city of London; the Levellers and Fifth-monarchy men were pledging their desperate services to those that could dupe them; Cromwell's old friend Harrison, who had been released from the Tower after a short confinement, "was deep in the plot;" Colonel Silas Titus, a Presbyterian royalist, or Colonel Sexby, or whoever was the author of the famed tract entitled 'Killing no Murder,' had invited all patriots to assassination, proclaiming that the greatest benefit any Englishman could render his country would be to murder Cromwell; and yet the Protector, even sick and dispirited as he was, was capable of conjuring this universal storm. He called a meeting of officers; he harangued the city and common council; beheaded Dr. Hewit and Sir Henry Slingsby; threw other plotters into prison; hanged three that were taken with arms in their hands in Cheapside; and not only preserved his authority at home, but also prosecuted his wars abroad with vigour and success. Those English troops, serving with Turenne, gained a brilliant victory over the Spaniards commanded by Don Juan and the

Duke of York; helped to take Dunkirk, which according to the treaty was delivered to Cromwell, and well garrisoned with Englishmen. But the Protector was sinking to the grave. "The first symptoms of this great man's last sickness appeared presently upon the death of his daughter Claypole, whose end is thought by many to have hastened his dissolution. About the beginning of October his distemper discovered itself to be a bastard tertian ague; which, for a week's time, threatened no danger. But presently he began to grow worse, and so was brought from Hampton Court (where he first fell sick, and where he made a will as to his domestic affairs) to London." * At first he spoke confidently of his recovery, and of the good things he intended by the grace of heaven to do for his country; but his malady gained rapidly upon him, and during the night of the 2nd of September, less than a month after the death of his dear daughter, he was assured that his end was approaching, and was overheard by Major Butler uttering this prayer:—"Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would have me live; they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory. All the stir is about this.† Others would fain have me die. Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive them their sins, and do not forsake them; but love and bless them, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest. . . . I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Jesus Christ who strengtheneth me." ‡ In the course of that night, he declared, in the presence of four or five of the council, that "my Lord Richard,"

* Perfect Politician.

† "Never," said his friend and secretary Thurloe, "was there any man so prayed for as he was during his sickness, solemn assemblies meeting every day to beseech the Lord for the continuance of his life; so that he is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints."—Letter to Henry Cromwell, written on the 4th of September.

‡ Kennet.

should be his successor.* On the following morning he was speechless, and he expired between three and four o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd of September, the day which he accounted his happiest day, the anniversary of his great victories of Worcester and Dunbar. He was in the 60th year of his age.

Immediately after the death of Oliver Cromwell the council assembled, and being satisfied that the protector in his life-time, according to "The Petition and Advice," had declared his son Richard to be his successor, they gave orders for his being proclaimed in a solemn manner. The neighbouring princes and states sent ministers to condole with him on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his happy and peaceable succession to the government. The army serving in Flanders, and still gaining laurels there, proclaimed Richard at Dunkirk and in their camp, and sent over respectful addresses to him. The officers of the navy gladly acknowledged his authority, and pledged themselves to stand by him; and the same was done by *General Monk* and his officers in Scotland.† But Richard Cromwell was no soldier, and destitute of high commanding powers of any kind;—he had lived a quiet, retired life, as far as possible away from the turmoil of government and the bustle of the camp, and he was almost a stranger to that soldiery which his father had known personally almost to a man, and over which by a rare combination of qualities—by a mixture of unflinching firmness in essentials and good nature in minor points, by devotion and by an easy familiarity which condescended to drollery,—he had exercised an almost magical influence. The payment of the troops too was somewhat in arrears, and Richard found the coffers of the state almost empty. From these and other circumstances, which may be easily conceived, the military presently betrayed symptoms of discontent. His brother-in-law, Fleetwood, a

* Letter of Lord Falconbridge to Henry Cromwell in Thurloe State Papers.

† Whitelock.—Thurloe.

good soldier, a favourite with the army, but a weak man in other respects, as well as ambitious and imprudent, became jealous of the new Protector, who had nominated him to be, under himself, commander-in-chief of the land forces. Fleetwood secretly encouraged a strange petition, which was drawn up and presented, requiring the Protector, in effect, to give up his control over the army.* Richard replied, that he had given the command of the forces to Fleetwood, who seemed generally acceptable to them; but that to gratify them further, or wholly to give up the power of the sword, was contrary to the constitution which lodged that power in the hands of the Protector and parliament jointly.

By the advice of Thurloe, St. John, Fiennes, and others, Richard resolved to assemble the representatives of the people and "the other House."

A.D. 1659.—The new parliament met on the 27th of January. The other House was the same despised nullity as before. Scarcely half of the members of the Commons would obey the summons of Richard to meet him in that "other House," at the opening of the session. Without loss of time the Commons attacked his right to be Lord Protector, and nearly every part of the present constitution, clamouring against the inexpediency and peril of allowing the "other House" to exist. Some of Richard's family and nearest connexions joined in this outcry, some out of personal ambition or pique, some out of sheer republicanism. The republicans were invigorated by the return of Sir Harry Vane, Ludlow, and Bradshaw, who facilitated the manœuvres of General Monk, and the return of royalty, by the hot war they waged against the Protector. The disguised royalists of course joined the republicans. An Act of Recognition was, however, passed, and a revenue was settled for the

* The petitioners required that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by a court-martial; and that the power of granting commissions should be intrusted to some person whose services had placed him above suspicion.

new Protector. Then a fierce attack was made upon the "other House" and upon the late administration of Oliver, whose best ministers were singled out for impeachment. But the army soon stayed these proceedings by joining with the ultra-republican section. Under General Lambert, a council of officers was called and established, and they voted that the command of the army should be put into better hands, and that every officer should declare his approval of the conduct of the army and the proceedings against the late Charles Stuart, or resign his commission. The Commons declared such meetings and councils illegal. On this the Lambertians drew up a representation to Richard, setting forth their want of pay, the insolence of their enemies, and their designs, together with *some in power*, to ruin the army and the good old cause, and to bring in the enemies thereof; to prevent which they desired his highness to provide effectual remedy. "This" says Whitelock, "was the beginning of Richard's fall, and set on foot by his own relations." The parliament took no course to provide money, but exasperated the army, and all the members of the "other House." And hereupon the army compelled Richard to dissolve the parliament on the 22nd of April.

On the 6th of May, Lambert, Fleetwood, Desborough, and the general council of officers, keeping the promises they had made to the ultra-republicans, published a declaration, inviting the members of the Long Parliament or Rump, who had continued sitting till Oliver's forcible ejection of the 20th of April, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust. And on the very next day, old Speaker Lenthall and all the survivors of the Rump, being escorted and guarded by Lambert's troops, went down to the House, and there took their seats as a lawful and undisputable parliament, and being seated they forthwith voted that there should be no Protector, no King, no "other House." Richard Cromwell retired quietly to Hampton Court, and signed his demission or resignation in form. Fleetwood, whose wife was Richard's sister, made a proffer of allegiance to

the restored Rump in the name of the army at London, and *General Monk* hastened to write from Scotland to express the entire concurrence of himself and army in the new revolution which had been effected. On the 22nd of June (and not sooner) letters were received from Henry Cromwell, a much more stirring or bolder man than his brother, notifying his submission, and the submission of his army in Ireland, to the present parliament. Pressed by want of money, the Rump proposed selling the three royal palaces of Whitehall, Somerset House, and Hampton Court; but they were sold themselves, or were interrupted and dismissed, before they could carry into effect this project in finance. They had scarcely warmed their seats ere they were alarmed by numerous plots and riots raised by the royalists. These things grew worse and worse. At the beginning of August insurrections broke out at the same moment in several parts of the country, the most important being one in Cheshire and Lancashire, headed by Sir George Booth, who was daily expecting to be joined by Charles II. and his brother the Duke of York. But Lambert gave a total rout to Sir George Booth's force. Charles who had got everything ready, deferred his voyage; Booth, and the young Earl of Derby, with many others, were arrested and thrown into the Tower; and by the end of August this formidable insurrection was completely subdued.

But the Rump which sat in the House, and the army which had placed them there, presently quarrelled with each other. The Rump claimed an entire control over the forces by land or by sea; the army, charging the Rump with base ingratitude, claimed to be independent and supreme. An Act was passed to dismiss Lambert, Desborough, Fleetwood, and seven or eight other principal officers. Haselrig, who was the chief mover in these bold parliamentary transactions, was encouraged by letters from *Monk*, assuring him that he and the army in Scotland would stand by the parliament, and by the like promises from Ludlow, who had succeeded Henry Cromwell in the command of the forces in

Ireland. But Monk and Ludlow were far away, and the English army were close at hand. On the 13th of October, Lambert collected his troops in Westminster Hall, Palace Yard, and the avenues leading to the House; and when the Speaker came up in his coach they stopped him, and made him turn back, and they treated most part of the members in the same way, so that the House could not sit. The Council of State sat, and there the hostile parties, the army men and the Rump men, came into fierce collision. The civilians accused the army of being destroyers of liberty; the officers retorted, saying that the Rump would not have left them any liberty to destroy; and Colonel Sydenham protested that the army had been obliged to apply this last remedy by a special commission from Divine Providence. Desborough, old Noll's brother-in-law, said with more bluntness,—“because the parliament intended to dismiss us, we had a right to dismiss the parliament.”—On the next day the officers of the army debated about a settlement or new constitution, and declared Fleetwood, Richard's brother-in-law, to be their commander-in-chief. On the other side, Haselrig and his friends consulted how they might restore themselves to power, “and they had some hopes of Monk to be their champion.” The council of officers discontented Monk by appointing Lambert to the command in Scotland.*

It was at this critical moment that Monk, who had been courted and feared by both parties, began to play his own game. He had been a royalist before he became a parliamentarian; he had been a hot Long-parliament man or Rumpite, and then a still hotter Cromwellite; and he was ready to become king's man or devil's man, or anything else that best promised to promote his own interests.

On the 29th of October, the officers of the army received a letter from him expressive of his dissatisfaction at their late proceedings, and the committee of safety received intelligence through other channels that Monk

* Whitelock.—Ludlow.—Parl. Hist.

had secured Berwick for himself, and was looking towards London. Lambert was instantly appointed to command the forces in the north of England; and Whalley, and Goffe, and Caryl, and Barker, ministers of the Gospel, were sent to Monk, "to persuade him to a right understanding of things and prevent effusion of blood." Monk in the meanwhile sent to assure the leaders of the Rump that his sole object was to relieve parliament from military oppression: and he called God to witness that he was above all things a friend to liberty and the Commonwealth. Writing to Haselrig, whom he duped, he said, "As to a Commonwealth, believe me, Sir—for I speak it in the presence of God—it is the desire of my soul."* But if Monk duped the humiliated and desperate members of the Rump, he certainly never deceived the English officers. On the 8th of November, Desborough Fleetwood, and the principal men of that body went to the common council in London, and told them plainly "that the bottom of Monk's design was to bring in the king upon a new civil war."† Monk, after again calling God to witness that the asserting of the commonwealth was the only intent of his heart, crossed the Tweed in great force, being openly backed by the chief Presbyterians in Scotland. He was faced on the Tyne by Lambert; but the soldiers of Cromwell, now badly provided, had lost their old enthusiasm and discipline, and Lambert besides had orders from the committee of government to avoid a hostile collision; and he therefore lay at Newcastle doing nothing. It was agreed that three commissioners on the part of Monk should be allowed to come up to London to treat with three commissioners on the part of Fleetwood, the nominal commander-in-chief of all the forces. By this delay Monk was enabled to mature his plans, and to receive further assistance in men and money from Scotland. Monk's three commissioners pretended to be very confident that he would approve what was agreed upon by Fleetwood's commissioners, namely, that a parliament should be restored and the nation settled again

* Clarendon, State Papers.

† Whitelock.

in the ways of peace. The committee of safety proceeded in preparing a form of government, but there was no reconciling their conflicting theories and views and interests. Fresh letters came from Monk to Fleetwood full of compliments and expressions of his earnest desire for a speedy settlement; but stating that what had been agreed upon by his commissioners was not quite enough—that some things remained untreated of and unagreed upon—that he wished for a fresh treaty to put a final end to the business. Some of the committee declared that this was only a delay in Monk to gain time to be the better prepared for his design to bring in the king. “And, therefore,” continues Whitelock, who had himself a principal share in these deliberations, “they advised to fall upon Monk presently, and bring the matter to an issue before his soldiers were more confirmed, and Fleetwood's party more discouraged; but this advice was not taken, but a new treaty assented to, by commissioners on each part, to be at Newcastle.”

This was on the last day of November; on the 4th of December some of the forces about London began to clamour for pay, and to favour the proceedings of Monk for restoring the parliament. On the next day serious disturbances took place in the city; and intelligence was received that the governor and garrison of Portsmouth had declared for the parliament. Still the general council of officers sat devising schemes of government, republican and impracticable. Having concocted another constitution, they proclaimed, on the 15th of December, that there should be a new parliament. On the 17th Admiral Lawson, who had brought his ships into the Thames, required that the Long Parliament or Rump should sit again. On the 22nd most of the soldiery about London made the same demand. At this critical moment Whitelock, being convinced that Monk would bring in the king without terms for the parliament party or for the country, and that he would easily delude Haselrig and the rest of the parliament men, suggested to Fleetwood, since the coming in of Charles II. seemed unavoidable, that it would be more prudent for Fleetwood and his friends to

be the instrument for bringing him in than to leave it to Monk. The adroit lawyer proposed that Fleetwood should instantly send some person of trust to the king at Breda, and invite him to return upon conditions. By so doing Fleetwood might yet make terms with the king for the preservation of himself, of his family and friends, and, in a good measure, of the cause in which they had all been engaged : but if it were left to Monk, Fleetwood and his friends, and all that had been done for civil and religious liberty, would be exposed to the danger of destruction. Fleetwood was convinced, and desired Whitelock to go and prepare himself forthwith for the journey. But before Whitelock got across the threshold, Vane, Desborough, and Berry came into the room, and, after a private conversation with them, which lasted a quarter of an hour, Fleetwood called Whitelock back, "and in much passion said to him, 'I cannot do it! I cannot do it! I cannot do it without my Lord Lambert's consent!'" "Then," said Whitelock, "you will ruin yourself and your friends." Fleetwood replied, that he could not help it, that his word was pledged ; and so they parted.

On the next day, some of the members of the old council of state, and the old speaker Lenthall, seeing that the soldiers were all revolting from Fleetwood, gave orders for a rendezvous in Lincoln's-Inn-fields. They also received intelligence that Haselrig was coming speedily up to London with the revolted garrison of Portsmouth.

On the morrow the troops formed in Lincoln's Inn, opposite to the house of the Speaker, gave him three cheers, saluted him with a volley, and took the word of command from him. Lenthall was now, in effect, commander-in-chief in London. He secured the Tower ; he convinced the common council, the citizens and soldiery, that the very best thing to do was to restore the Rump. And, two days after this, or on the 26th of December, the Rump were restored by the very soldiers who had so recently prevented their sitting.

A.D. 1660.—On the 2nd of January the House voted that a bill should be prepared for renouncing anew the

title of Charles Stuart, &c. On the 6th they received a letter from Monk promising all obedience and faithfulness to this parliament; and, in their infatuation, they voted Monk a letter of thanks, and desired him to come up to London as soon as he could. By the 26th of January Monk was at Northampton, protesting that he was but a servant of the parliament. On the 28th he was at St. Albans, where he again expressed all duty and obedience. But, after keeping a day of fasting and prayer, he wrote from St. Albans to require that all the soldiers of the English army that were in or about London should be removed. The Rump ordered the troops out of town accordingly; and on the same day Monk marched into London, in all state, with his horse and foot:—and then the king's party talked very high, saying they were sure the king would soon follow.

Although Monk carefully concealed his intention of recalling Charles, he soon opened the eyes of Haselrig and that party to the monstrous blunder they had committed. He insisted that the secluded members of the long parliament—the expelled Presbyterians—should sit again. None durst oppose him; the spirit of the people generally ran that way, and the cavaliers agreed to it as the way to bring in the king. On the 21st of February the secluded members took their seats; and from that moment the members of the Rump began to think of providing for their personal safety. The Presbyterian majority voted in rapid succession, that Monk should be Commander-in-chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that all the proceedings of parliament since their seclusion should be null and void; that Presbyterianism should be the one and sole religion; and that the League and Covenant, without any amendment or toleration, should be posted up in all churches. On the 16th of March they passed an act for dissolving this parliament, with a proviso not to infringe the rights of the House of Peers. Writs were issued for a new parliament; and then Monk finished his bargain with Charles II., giving advice but imposing no conditions. Lambert, who had proved most satisfactorily that he was not a

Cromwell, nor fitted to be his successor, was shut up in the Tower, after an insane attempt at insurrection. The new parliament met on the 25th of April. Ten Peers took their seats in their own House, confirmed the appointments of Monk, and voted a day of fasting to seek God for his blessing upon the approaching settlement of the nation. Circular letters were then sent for the other Peers, who came up to Westminster by degrees, till the House, which had been so long empty, was nearly full. In the Lower House the utmost readiness was shown in agreeing with the restored Peers. Sir Harbottle Grimston was elected Speaker, and was conducted to the chair by Monk and the runaway Denzil Hollis. On the 26th of April the two Houses gave orders for a day of thanksgiving to God "for raising up General Monk and other instruments of rescuing this nation from thralldom and misery." They also voted thanks to Monk for his eminent and unparalleled services. On the 1st of May, Sir John Granville, who had been employed for some time in the negotiations or bargainings between Charles II. and the general, arrived again from Breda. Monk, who continued to wear the mask when it was no longer necessary, would not open the dispatches in his own house, but ordered Sir John to present them to him in the midst of the Council of State. This was done; and, to carry on the farce, Granville was put under arrest.—But, lo! it was proved that the letters were *really* from the king himself, and that they contained very upright and very satisfactory intentions; and Granville was released from custody, and the letters were sent down to Parliament, and there read in the name of the king. One of these royal epistles was addressed to the Lords, another to the Commons, one to Monk, and another to the Lord Mayor. The letter to the Commons contained the famous "Declaration of Breda," which, in general terms, offered indemnity for the past and liberty of conscience for the future. This document was the only pledge that this parliament thought necessary to be required from a prince who had already proved, in many cases, that his royal word was little worth. Despising many warnings of danger to

themselves and Covenant and church, the Presbyterians prepared an answer to the king's letter, expressing their surpassing joy; voted his majesty, who was penniless, the present supply of 50,000*l.*; and sent a committee into the city to borrow that money. Prynne, who had suffered so much from Star-Chambers and High Courts of Commission, royal tyranny and prelatical intolerance, and that upright judge Sir Matthew Hale, ventured to recommend that some more definite settlement should be made before the king were brought back; but Monk silenced them by asserting that, as his majesty would come back without either money or troops, there was nothing to fear from him.

The Commons continued running a race with the Lords in this new loyalty; and, after other votes, they sent twelve of their members to wait upon the king. Nor were the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London a whit less loyal.

On the 8th of May Charles was solemnly proclaimed at Westminster Hall gate, the Lords and Commons standing bareheaded while the proclamation was made by the heralds. And so ended the Commonwealth.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

THE Puritanism that made its appearance in England immediately after the Reformation was chiefly derived from Geneva, and the gloomy and severe theology of Calvin. Directly from this fountain-head came also the still sourer Puritanism of Scotland; for John Knox was a disciple of Calvin, and had been a resident preacher at Geneva. In England that tendency was checked; but in Scotland the ascendancy of Knox made the Reformation thoroughly puritanical. In England the Puritans remained in the minority; in Scotland they at once attained to be a decided majority. Mary, queen of Scots, a Catholic, was chiefly sacrificed by the Puritanical rage. Her son, the Scottish Solomon, scarcely saved

himself by equivocations and compliances. John Knox died in the year 1572; but his spirit did not die with him. His disciples and successors continued to control or to intimidate James until he was called to the throne of England. It has been sufficiently shown in the narrative of civil and military transactions how eager James was to discredit and abuse the Scottish kirk as soon as he was established in his new kingdom. The conferences at Hampton Court were in many respects childish, passionate, ridiculous, indecent; yet one of the results of them was the new translation of the Bible—the same that is still in use among us. In 1604 James commissioned fifty-four of the most eminent divines of Oxford and Cambridge to execute this task. The great work was not begun till 1606, when the number of the translators had been reduced by death to forty-seven. The work was finished and sent to the press in 1611. This, upon the whole, most admirable version of the Holy Scriptures, which, in addition to its more venerable claims, has long been regarded as one of the chief classics of our language, and a most precious “well of English undefiled” was founded upon the immediately preceding translation, called Parker’s, or the Bishops’ Bible, first published in 1568.

The Convocation of the clergy which sat in 1604, ordered the adoption of a new Collection or Book of Canons, being the first which had been substituted by any sort of authority for the old canon law which had been swept away by the Reformation. Never having been confirmed by act of parliament, it is now well established by decisions of courts that these Canons have no legal force in respect to the laity; but, for a long time, an opposite doctrine was maintained and acted upon both by the church and the government, and many of them were applied to the coercion and persecution of the Dissenters, in the same manner as if they had formed part of the law of the land. It was chiefly through these Canons that the Dissenters were driven to resort to the *ultima ratio* of canons.

The chief authorship of these Canons is attributed to

Bishop Bancroft, who, in the end of the year 1604, was raised to the primacy. He had begun to exercise ecclesiastical sovereignty before he found himself lodged in Lambeth Palace; but after that promotion and increase of power he set hardly any limits to his spiritual despotism. Thus he not only made mortal enemies of all classes of Dissenters, but alienated a considerable portion of his own church. But for a long time all resistance quailed before him. Many, both of the clergy and the laity, fled from England to the Low Countries, and there joined the Brownists; others tried to find a quiet asylum from the archbishop and his excommunications and fines and imprisonments in the regions claimed by the British crown on the other side of the Atlantic. But Bancroft could not endure that Puritanism should have a chance of taking root and flourishing even in those far-away wilds of the New World; and to put a stop to the emigrations of the Puritans to Virginia, he got the king to issue a proclamation prohibiting any of his subjects from transporting themselves thither without his special licence.

The great object both of Archbishop Bancroft and King James, after the enforcement of a uniformity of worship in England, was to effect the complete establishment of episcopacy in Scotland. To put down opposition, Forbes, Welsh, and four other Presbyterian ministers, were banished for life. A Scotch parliament, which assembled at Perth in July, 1606, notwithstanding the clamorous protestations of many of the clergy, passed an act "for the Restoration of the Estate of Bishops." The same parliament declared James's supremacy over all persons and in all causes, and set forth an oath to be taken by the Scots to that effect. We have shown in the preceding chapter the measures subsequently taken by James to curb and enervate the old Presbyterian spirit in the constitution of the Scottish church, and to strengthen the very rickety episcopacy he had set up; for it was soon found that it required something more than a few lines in a new act of parliament to repeal the Act of Annexation and to get back for the bishops their ancient lands and revenues out of the grasp of their present pos-

sessors. Before the close of the year 1608 all the thirteen bishoprics of Scotland were filled. Yet slight provision could be made for the incumbents, for the Lords of Parliament and other lay lords could not be brought to surrender the church lands they held. To give the bishops the means of living, and at the same time a greater controlling power, James thrust them into some of the best civil offices of the state. This roused the envy of the great men, and increased the hatred and malice of the poor. An assembly called at Glasgow in June, 1610, did not serve to tranquillize matters, or to root out the general aversion of the Scots to episcopacy.

Shortly after Archbishop Bancroft died, and was succeeded by Doctor George Abbot, who had lived much in the Presbyterian family of the Earl of Dunbar, and who had owed his rapid promotion in the church to that Scots nobleman. Instead of being all for the high church like Bancroft, Abbot had a decided leaning to the low church, or to the tenets of Calvin. He had a strong personal antipathy to Laud, who was already attracting notice as a high-church champion; and for the memory of Bancroft he had very little respect. Hence a great change was soon seen: low churchmen, whom Bancroft would scarcely have considered as churchmen at all, were encouraged and promoted.

Yet while differences and schisms were growing up in England, James was still bent on assimilating the Scottish kirk to the Anglican church. For this purpose another assembly was called together at Aberdeen in 1616. Here a Book of Canons, like the English, was devised, and a new Confession of Faith was drawn up and published, to be universally received throughout the kingdom, and to which all persons hereafter should be bound to swear and set their hand. The king would have driven for still more, but he was recommended to be patient and not to attempt too much at a time. In January following James wrote to his Scottish council, informing them of his intention to visit his ancient kingdom. "Among other directions sent from the king," says Spotswood, "one was for repairing of the chapel (the

chapel-royal in Holyrood House); and some English carpenters were employed, who brought with them the portraits of the Apostles to be set in the pews or stalls. As they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle rumour went, that the images were to be set up in the chapel; and, as people are given to speak the worst, it was current among them, that the organs came first, now the images, and ere long they should have the mass. The Bishop of Galloway, then dean of the chapel, moved with these speeches, did pen a letter to the king, entreating his majesty, for the offence that was taken, to stay the affixing of these portraits. To this letter he procured the subscriptions of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishops of Aberdeen and Brechin, and divers of the ministers of Edinburgh. The answer returned by the king was full of anger, objecting ignorance unto them that could not distinguish betwixt pictures intended for ornament and decoration, and images erected for worship and adoration. James, however, having thus discharged himself of his ever-ready and abounding rhetoric, then consulted his equally unfailing caution and timidity, and concluded his epistle by giving order for stopping the erecting of the portraits.

The Scots parliament was called upon to sanction an article to this effect:—"That whatsoever conclusion was taken by his majesty, with advice of the archbishops and bishops, in matters of external policy, the same should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law." This was too strong even for the bishops themselves. They represented that, in the making of laws in this Scottish church, the advice and consent of Presbyters had always been requisite. James, yielding as usual, allowed the article to be altered so as to include along with the archbishops and bishops "a competent number of the ministry." In this form the article was passed. But before it had received the royal assent the clergy subscribed their strong protestation against it. This strong protestation was written by one Hewet or Hewat, who had been promoted by the bishops. Archbishop Spotswood, knowing how ill the king would take it, re-

proached Hewet for taking in hand such a business. Hewet, terrified, and, it is said, instructed at the same time by his repentant brethren to recover the protestation, endeavoured to take back the paper out of the archbishop's hand, but the archbishop held it fast, so that the protestation was nearly rent between them. As they had met in the private gallery close to his majesty's chamber, one of the grooms saw the scuffle, and ran in to tell the king. His majesty, being as yet undressed, came forth in a flurry, and asked what the matter was. The archbishop told the story about the protestation, and rated Hewet very violently for having taken such a business in hand. Hewet fell upon his knees before his undressed majesty and implored his pardon, promising never to meddle with such things again. The fright, however, into which he was thrown by this scuffle between the primate and the preacher, shook James's resolution, and he immediately commanded that the obnoxious article should be passed by.*

In consequence of this failure in the parliament the resolution was taken of calling a convention of the clergy at St. Andrew's. But about four months before this clerical meeting the king returned to England, having previously bullied the Presbyterian ministers in the chapel of the archbishop's castle. The convention met at St. Andrew's on the 25th of November. The ministers stiffly opposed the kneeling at the Lord's supper, the bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. After writing two furious letters, James, in a third, ordered the Scottish council to withhold the payments of their stipends from all the rebellious ministers. Then he was prevailed upon to suspend this severe edict, and to convoke another assembly to be held at Perth on the 25th of August, 1618. By some adroit management the majority of this assembly were made to agree to all that the king wished; and shortly after implicit obedience was enjoined to these new ecclesiastical constitutions by a proclamation from the privy council; and, although the acts of the assembly had

* Spotswood.

not yet received any parliamentary ratification, the authorities did not scruple to apply all the ordinary and harsh means of enforcing their strict observance. Many persons were from time to time dragged before the Court of High Commission. Persuasion, flattery, stratagems, and to some extent pecuniary temptations, were mingled with this violence; but the starch Presbyterians were not to be won over. When these methods had been tried, with little effect, for three or four years, the government determined to have the articles of Perth confirmed by the legislature, and a parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, principally for that purpose, in July, 1621. On the morning of the day in which the articles were to be debated a great fire broke out in the city "for a forewarning to the estates to take care what they did." There were other significant omens; but the lords of parliament, were swayed by the king and his commissioner the Marquess of Hamilton.* It is said, however, that many of them assented to the ratification of the articles with visible reluctance. The vote was followed with a gloomy darkness, and when the grand commissioner rose from the throne to ratify the act by touch of the sceptre there was an "extraordinary great lightning" "with three loud claps of thunder."†

The Scottish bishops, if not terrified by these portents, were disquieted and disheartened by the stern and resolute aspect of the people. James thought himself obliged to rate them in round terms for the little joy they had testified at the great victory gained over the Presbyterians. "You have now," he wrote, "the warrant of law! The sword is now put into your hands: go on, therefore, to use it, and let it rust no longer, till ye have perfected the service trusted to you." Some of the bishops were still very timid, but the Court of High Commission got vigorously into motion, and suspensions, deprivations, fines, banishments, imprisonments, and other punishments for a refractory clergy were the order of the day.

* David Calderwood. *The True History of the Church of Scotland.*

† Id.

Yet one thing remained to be done to complete the uniformity of the English and Scottish churches; the imposition upon the latter of the Liturgy and form of Common Prayer. James died before any great progress could be made in this business; but his son Charles, urged on by Laud, undertook it,—and by so doing involved himself in destruction.

Before James's death, Abbot, the Calvinistic archbishop of Canterbury, ceased to have any influence at court, and he was eventually disgraced and suspended, while Laud, Neil, Harsnet, Buckridge, and other enemies or rivals, theological, political, and personal, were promoted to the richest bishoprics, or other chief dignities in the church. These Arminian bishops and clergy were accused of making open advances towards Popery. They admitted the church of Rome to be a true Christian church; they declared for the lawfulness of images in English churches; they inclined to the dogma of the real presence; they pleaded for confession to a priest, for sacerdotal absolution, and the proper merit of good works. They claimed an uninterrupted succession of the episcopal character from the Apostles through the church of Rome; they richly ornamented their own churches, and neglected to preach in them. Dissent thrived apace in this broken soil; and the more the heads of the church tended to Arminianism, to Popery, and to the un-English doctrine of absolutism in politics, the farther and the faster did the people go on receding in all these things, and drifting over to Puritanism, Calvinism, and democracy.

Such was the state to which things had been brought when James died, and his son Charles came to reign in his stead. Acting under the instigation of the restless and impatient Laud, Charles, before he had been many weeks on the throne, wrote to Spotswood, the Scots primate, that there must be an end to all laxity, that the articles or Canons of Perth must be enforced to the letter, and that a bond must be subscribed by every new entrant into the ministry. James had never been able to recover the tithes and church lands. Charles was, from the first, determined to do both; and hence, in the end, nearly all

the lay aristocracy of Scotland was banded against him. Of his efforts made to force the English Liturgy and Common Prayer upon the Scots, enough has been said in the preceding narrative. Persuasion, cajolery, force, and cruelty, all failed; and that failure was succeeded by a dark-rolling inundation of Presbytery over the whole length and breadth of the island. These Scots reconstructed their kirk in their own way, and, for a time, with an intolerance equal to that of Popery, imposed it on other men's consciences. But for the Independents and the sword of Cromwell there would have been much less religious liberty in England than there had been in the pontifical days of Laud.

During the first two years of the great civil war England might be said to be without any established form of worship. The clergy were left to read the Liturgy or not as they pleased, and to take their own way in all other points. Some continued to wear the canonical habits which had been so dear and sacred to Laud; others preached in a cloak, after the fashion of the Calvinistic ministers of Geneva. The fine cathedral service was everywhere put down; and many of the sacred edifices were lamentably defaced and injured, principally in the process of executing the parliamentary ordinance of the summer of 1643.

The building up of a new ecclesiastical polity was made the work of the "Assembly of Divines" which met at Westminster on the 1st of July, 1643. These divines were generally agreed in holding the doctrinal theology of Calvin; but upon the question of church government they were more divided in opinion. A few of them were attached to the Anglican episcopacy; but these, finding themselves in a hopeless minority, soon retired. The majority of those that remained appear to have been at first inclined towards a modified episcopacy; but, coalescing with the commissioners from Scotland, and being swayed by the great influence which circumstances at the time gave unto the kirk of that country, they ultimately became thoroughly Presbyterian. Some of these English divines even went the length of adopting the principle of

the Divine Right of Presbytery. From them proceeded all the successive creeds and compendiums published in the name of the Assembly—The Directory for Public Worship; The Confession of Faith; and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. All these expositions are thoroughly both Calvinistic and Presbyterian: they constitute indeed the authorised formularies of the church of Scotland at the present day.

In the Westminster assembly, but still more out of doors, the Presbyterians were vigorously opposed by two sects, which, although they acted generally in concert against the common foe, were sufficiently distinguishable from each other. These were the Independents and the Erastians; the latter being so named from Erastus, a German divine of the preceding century, who had maintained that the church or the clergy, as such, possessed no inherent legislative power of any kind, and that the national church, in its form and discipline, was in all respects the mere subject and creature of the civil magistrate. That, however, which, both in the Erastian and the Independents, enraged and alarmed the Presbyterian party more than anything else, was their advocacy of the principle of a general toleration—a doctrine which Presbytery, as we have seen, had always held in especial abhorrence. As yet, the Independents appear to have generally held this great principle with some limitation; being inclined, for instance, though rather on political than theological grounds, to exclude the adherents of popery from the full liberty which they would have granted to all other Christian sects. Oliver Cromwell and Henry Vane were both for universal liberty of conscience.* The Protector allowed the Jews to have a public synagogue in London; and in a hundred other instances he proved himself a sincere friend to religious liberty.

Although the majority in the assembly of divines at Westminster remained with the Presbyterians till its

* Letters of Baillie, one of the Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly from the Church of Scotland.

dissolution, about three weeks after the king's death, the Independents and other sectaries had long before that been getting ahead of them in the parliament and much more in the army. The Directory of Public Worship, which supplanted the Liturgy, was established by an ordinance of parliament as early as the 3rd of January, 1645; but the confession of faith, which laid down a Presbyterian system of ecclesiastical polity, although it was at once received in Scotland, was never sanctioned by any act of the English legislature. In the course of 1659 it was indeed declared by the Commons that Presbytery should be the established religion. But, in point of fact, that religion never obtained more than a very limited and imperfect establishment in England.

Some of the English benefices were still retained by their old Episcopalian incumbents; a considerable number were held by Independents; and a few were filled even by persons belonging to some of the many minor sects which were thriving in the sunshine of the Protector's toleration. For some time, indeed, the pulpits appear to have been open even to any of the laity who were esteemed to possess an edifying gift of utterance. At last, in March, 1653, Cromwell appointed a board of Triers, as they were called, to put things in some order. The number of these Triers was thirty-eight: part were Presbyterians, part Independents, a few were Baptists. To them was given, without any instructions or limitations whatsoever, the power of examining, and approving or rejecting, all persons that might thereafter be presented, nominated, or appointed to any living in the church. This was tantamount to dividing the church among these different religious bodies, or so liberalising and extending it as to make it comprehend them all. Cromwell, however, held forth the measure as one, on the contrary, of a restrictive character—as designed to restrain the excessive liberty that had previously existed, when any man, who would, might set up as a preacher, and so give himself a chance of obtaining a living in the church. The board of Triers continued to sit, and to exercise its functions, at Whitehall, till a short time after the death of Cromwell.

Of the numerous sectaries, as they were called, that sprung up in this age, we shall not now enter into any account. Those of chiefest note were the Baptists or Anabaptists, the Quakers, or followers of George Fox, and the Fifth-Monarchy men, all of whom will meet us again in the next period.

Even in Scotland Cromwell enforced the same general toleration which had been established in England. But it was soon made evident to him that this system could only be maintained by putting a gag upon the kirk. Accordingly, when, after many heats, the General Assembly met as usual at Edinburgh in the summer of 1652, Cromwell threw one of his Ironsides among them. Just as the Presbyterian ministers were about to proceed to business, Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterel suddenly came into the church, and standing up on one of the benches, informed them that no ecclesiastical adjudicatories could sit there except by authority of the parliament of England. The priests, attempted to reply and protest, but the soldier commanded them instantly to get them gone, and having forced them out of the church, Cotterel conducted the whole of the reverend body out of the city, with a troop of horse and a company of foot. So long as Cromwell lived the Assembly did not attempt to meet again.

END OF VOL. XII.

